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PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

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S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M.



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## **PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.**



# PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH:

A DIALECT OF SOUTH GERMAN WITH AN  
INFUSION OF ENGLISH.

BY

S. S. HALDEMAN, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
PHILADELPHIA.

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## NOTICE.

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WHILE I was engaged with the third part of my *Early English Pronunciation*, Prof. Haldeman sent me a reprint of some humorous letters by Rauch, entitled *Pennsylvanish Deitsh. De Campain Breesa sum Pit Schwefflebrenner un de Berry, si alty, gepublished oly woch in "Father Abraham."* Perceiving at once the analogy between this debased German with English intermixture, and Chaucer's debased Anglo-saxon with Norman intermixture, I requested and obtained such further information as enabled me to give an account of this singular modern reproduction of the manner in which our English language itself was built up, and insert it in the introduction to my chapter on Chaucer's pronunciation, *Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 652-663. But I felt it would be a loss to Philology if this curious living example of a mixture of languages were dismissed with such a cursory notice, and I therefore requested Prof. Haldeman, who by birth and residence, philological and phonetic knowledge, was so well fitted for the task, to draw up a more extended notice, as a paper to be read before the Philological Society of London. Hence arose the following little treatise, of which I, for my own part, can only regret the brevity. But the Philological Society, having recently exhausted most of its resources by undertaking the publication of several extra volumes, was unable to issue another of such length, and hence the present Essay appears independently. Owing to his absence from England and my own connexion with the paper, which I communicated and read to the Philological Society, on 3 June, 1870, Prof.

Haldeman requested me to superintend the printing of his essay, and add anything that might occur to me. This will account for a few footnotes signed with my name. The Professor was fortunately able to examine one revise himself, so, that though I am mainly responsible for the press work, I hope that the errors may be very slight

Sufficient importance does not seem to have been hitherto attached to watching the growth and change of living languages. We have devoted our philological energies to the study of dead tongues which we could not pronounce, and have therefore been compelled to compare by letters rather than by sounds, and which we know only in the form impressed upon them by scholars of various times. The form in which they were originally written is for ever concealed. The form in which they appear in the earliest manuscripts has practically never been published, but has to be painfully collected from a mass of various readings. The form we know is a critical, conjectural form, patched up by men distinguished for scholarship, but for the most part entirely ignorant of the laws which govern the changes of speech. The very orthography is medieval. We are thus enabled to see as little of the real genesis of language, in form, in sound, in grammatical and logical construction, in short in the real pith of philological investigation—the relation of thought to speech-sounds—as the study of a full-grown salmon would enable us to judge of the marvellous development of that beautiful fish. Such studies as the present will, I hope, serve among others to stimulate exertion in the new direction. We cannot learn life by studying fossils alone.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

KENSINGTON,  
23 APRIL, 1872.

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# PENNSYLVANISCH DEITSCH.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PEOPLE—HISTORY—LOCATION—CONDITION.

The reciprocal influence of languages affords an interesting subject of investigation, and it is the object of this essay to present an outline of a dialect which has been formed within a century, and which continues to be spoken, subject to the influences which developed it. Of such languages, English, Wallachian, and Hindūstānī, are familiar examples.

Like other languages, the dialect of German known as Pennsylvania Dutch presents variations due to the limited intercourse of a widely-scattered agricultural population, and to the several dialects brought from abroad, chiefly from the region of the Upper Rhine, and the Neckar, the latter furnishing the Suabian or Rhenish Bavarian element. The language is therefore South German, as brought in by emigrants from Rhenish Bavaria, Baden, Alsace (Alsatia), Würtemberg, German Switzerland, and Darmstadt. There were also natives from other regions, with certain French Neutrals deported from Nova Scotia to various parts of the United States, including the county (Lancaster) where the materials for this essay have been collected. These, and probably some families with French names from Alsace, are indicated by a few proper names, like *Roberdeau*, *Lebo*, *Deshong* and *Shunk* (both for *Dejean*), and an occasional word like *júschtaménnt* (in German spelling), the French *justement*, but which a native might take for a condensation of *just-an-dem-ende*.

Welsh names like *Jenkins*, *Evans*, *Owen*, *Foulke*, *Griffith*, *Morgan*, and *Jones* occur, with the township names of *Brecknock*, *Caernarvon*, *Lampeter*, *Leacock* ('Lea' as *lay*), and in the next county of Chester—*Gwynedd* and *Tredyffrin*; but there seems to have been no fusion between Welsh and German, probably because the Welsh may have spoken English. Local names like *Hanöver*, *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, indicate whence some of the early residents came.

The French-American *ville* appears in German Pennsylvania, in *Bechtleville*, *Engelsville*, *Greshville*, *Lederachsville*, *Scherksville*, *Schuenkeville*, *Silberlingsville*, *Wernersville*, *Zieglerville*; paralleled by the English *town* in *Kutztown*, *Mertztown*, *Schäfferstown*, *Straustown*; *burg* in *Ickesburg*, *Landisburg*, *Rehrersburg*; and the German *dorf* has a representative in *Womelsdorf*.

Pennsylvania German does not occur in the counties along the northern border of the state, but it has extended into Maryland, Western Virginia, Ohio, and farther west; and it has some representatives in western New York, and even in Canada. In many of the cities of the United States, such as *Pittsburg*, *Chicago*, *Cincinnatí*, and *Saint Louis*, recent large accessions from Germany have brought in true German, and to such an extent that the German population of the city of New York is said to exceed that of every European city except Berlin and Vienna. The newer teutonic population differs from the older in living to a great extent in the towns, where they are consumers of beer and tobacco—luxuries to which the older stock and their descendants were and are but little addicted. The numerous allusions to the 'Fatherland' to be met with, belong to the foreign Germans—the natives caring no more for Germany than for other parts of Europe, for they are completely naturalised, notwithstanding their language.

Several thousand Germans had entered Pennsylvania before the year 1689, when a steady stream of emigration set in, and it is stated that their number was 100,000 in 1742, and 280,000 in 1763. They occupied a region which has located the Pennsylvania dialect chiefly to the south-east of the Alle-

ghenies, excluding several counties near Philadelphia. Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, although settled by Germans, seems to have lost its German character. The language under the name of ‘Pennsylvania Dutch’ is used by a large part of the country population, and may be constantly heard in the county towns of Easton on the Delaware, Reading (i.e. red-ing) on the Schuylkill, Allentown on the Lehigh, Harrisburg (the State capital) on the Susquehanna, Lebanon, Lancaster, and York.

A fair proportion of the emigrants, including the clergy, were educated, and education has never been neglected among them. The excellent female boarding schools of the Moravians were well supported, not only by the people of the interior, but also by the English-speaking population of the large cities, and of the Southern States—a support which prevented the German accent of some of the teachers from being imitated by the native teutonic pupils—for the education was in English, although German and French were taught. Booksellers find it to their advantage to advertise the current German and English literature in the numerous German journals of the interior, and there is a *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon* in course of publication, which gives the following statistics of one of the German counties.

“The German element is strongly and properly represented in Allentown, and in Lehigh county generally, where the German language has retained its greatest purity, and so strong is this element, that in the city itself there are but few persons who speak English exclusively. An evidence of this is found in the fact that in seventy of the eighty Christian congregations in the county, some of which are over one hundred years old, Divine service is conducted in the German language. Allentown has seven German churches: (two Lutheran, one Reformed, two Methodist, one United Brethren, and one Catholic); and nine German journals, of which are published weekly—*Der Unabhängige Republikaner* (fifty-nine years old), *Der Friedensbote* (fifty-seven years old), *Der Lehigh County Patriot* (forty-three years old), *Der Weltbote* (fifteen years old, with 12,000 subscribers), and *Die Lutherische Zeitschrift*. The *Stadt- und Land-Bote* is a daily, the *Jugendfreund* semi-monthly, with twenty thousand subscribers; and Pastor Brobst’s *Theologischen Monatshefte* is monthly. Since the beginning of the year 1869, the German language has been taught in the public schools.”<sup>1</sup> The Reading *Adler* is in its seventy-fourth, and the Lancaster *Volksfreund* in its sixty-second year.—Dec. 1869.

<sup>1</sup> Un-ab-häng-ig, un-off-hang-ing, in-de-pend-ent, Polish nie-za-wis-ty.

<sup>2</sup> Allentown has just completed one of the finest public school buildings in Eastern Pennsylvania.—*Newspaper*, February, 1870.

The convenient quarto German almanacs (with a printed page of about five and a half by seven and a half inches in size), were preferred to the duodecimo English almanacs, even among the non-Germans, until the appearance of English almanacs in the German format about the year 1825.

The early settlers were extensive purchasers and occupiers of land, and being thus widely scattered, and having but few good roads, the uniformity of the language is greater than might have been supposed possible. These people seldom became merchants and lawyers, and in the list of attorneys admitted in Lancaster County, commencing with the year 1729, the names are English until 1769, when *Hubley* and *Weitsel* appear. From 1793 to 1804, of fifty-two names, three are German; from 1825 to 1835, twenty-four names give *Reigart* and *Long* (the latter anglicised). After 1860 the proportion is greater, for among the nine attorneys admitted in 1866, we find the German names of *Urich*, *Loop*, *Kauffman*, *Reinæhl*, *Seltzer*, and *Miller*. At the first school I attended as a child, there were but three English family names, and in the play-ground, English and German games were practised, such as 'blumsak' (G. plumpsack), 'Prisoner's base,' and 'Hink'l-wai'<sup>1</sup> was graabscht du do? which was never played with the colloquy translated.

Pennsylvania Dutch (so called because Germans call themselves *Deutsch*<sup>2</sup>) is known as a dialect which has been corrupted or enriched by English words and idioms under a pure or modified pronunciation, and spoken by natives, some of them knowing no other language, but most of them speaking or understanding English. Many speak both languages vernacularly, with the pure sounds of each, as in distinguishing German *töd*

<sup>1</sup> As if 'hühn-kel weihe' chicken hawk, 'wai' rhyming with *boy*.

<sup>2</sup> In an article on (the) "Pennsylvania Dutch" in the 'Atlantic Monthly' (Boston, Mass., Oct., 1869, p. 473), it is asserted that "the tongue which these people speak is not German, nor do they expect you to call it so." On the contrary, the language is strictly a German dialect, as these pages prove. The mistake has arisen from the popular confusion between the terms *Dutch* and *German*, which are synonymous with many. In Albany (New York) they speak of the *Double Dutch Church*, which seems to have been formed by the fusion of a 'German Reformed' with a 'Dutch Reformed' congregation. These are different denominations, now greatly anglicised. In 1867 the Rev. J. C. Dutcher was a Dutch Reformed pastor in New York.

(death) from English *toad*; or English *winter* from German *winter*, with a different *w*, a lengthened *n*, a flat *t*, and a trilled *r*—four distinctions which are natural to my own speech. Children, even when very young, may speak English entirely with their parents, and German with their grandparents, and of two house-painters (father and son) the father always speaks German and the son English, whether speaking together, or with others. The males of a family being more abroad than the females, learn English more readily, and while the father, mother, daughters, and servants may speak German, father and son may speak English together naturally, and not with a view to have two languages, as in Russia. Foreign Germans who go into the interior usually fall into the local dialect in about a year, and one remarked that he did so that he might not be misunderstood. Some of these, after a residence of fifteen or twenty years, speak scarcely a sentence of English, and an itinerant piano-tuner, whose business has during many years taken him over the country, says that he has not found a knowledge of English necessary.

The English who preceded the Germans in Pennsylvania brought their names of objects with them, calling a thrush with a red breast a *robin*; naming a bird not akin to any thrush a *blackbird*; and assigning to a yellow bird the name of *goldfinch*, but adopting a few aboriginal names like *racoon*, *hakee* and *possum*. The Germans did this to some extent, for *blackbird* saying ‘*schtaar*’ (G. *staar*,<sup>1</sup> starling,) for the *goldfinch* (oriole) ‘*goldamschl*,’ for the *thrush* (G. *drossel*) ‘*druschl*,’ for a *woodpecker* ‘*specht*’ (the German name), and for a crow ‘*krap*.’

The *ground-squirrel* is named ‘*fensemeissli*’ (fence-mouse-lin, *fence* being English); a large grey squirrel is called ‘*eech-haas*’ (for *eich-hase*, oak-hare); and in Austria a squirrel is *akatzel* and *achkatzel* (oak-kitten). The burrowing marmot (*Arctomys monax*), known as ground-hog, is called ‘*grun’daks*’ (from a fancied analogy with the German *dachs* or badger) and

<sup>1</sup> Words in single quotations are Pennsylvania German. The system of spelling is described in the next chapter. High German words are commonly in italics, or marked G.

in York County 'grandsau,' a translation of the English name. The English *partridge* (partridge, Dutch *patrijs*) is Germanised into 'pattereeseli' — also called 'feld-hinkli' (little field-chicken),—hinkl being universally used for *chicken* or *chickens*.

The usual perversions by *otōsis* occur, as in the city of Baltimore, where foreign Germans say 'Ablass' for *Annapolis* and 'Kälber Strasze' (Street of Calves) for Calvert Street—but the citizens themselves have replaced the vowel of *what* with that of *fat*, in the first syllable of this name; and the people of New York now pronounce 'Beekman Street' with the syllable *beak* instead of *bake* according to the earlier practice.

A German botanist gave 'Gandoge' as the locality of an American plant; a package sent by express to 'Sevaber' (an English name), and a letter posted to the town of 'Seur E Quss, Nu Yourck,' arrived safely; and I have seen a hand-board directing the traveller to the English-named town of 'Bintgrov.' As these present no special difficulty, they are not explained.

English *ricketts* for 'rachitis' is a familiar example of *otōsis*, and it appears in the following names of drugs furnished by a native druggist who speaks both languages, and who was able to determine the whole from the original prescriptions.

Allaways, Barrickgorrick, Sider in de ment, Essig of Iseck, Hirim Packer, Cinment, Cienpepper, Sension, Saintcun, Opien, High cyrap, Seno and mano misct, Sking, Coroces suplement, Red presepeite, Ammeline, Lockwouth, Absom's salts, Mick nisey, Corgel, Chebubs, By crematarter potash, Balderyon, Lower beans, Cots Shyneel.

## CHAPTER II.

### PHONOLOGY OF PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

#### § 1. *Use of the Alphabet.*

In his "Key into the Languages of America," London, 1643, Roger Williams says that "the life of all language is pronunciation"—and in the comparison of dialects it deserves especial attention. To enable the reader the more readily to understand these pages, and to compare the words with literary German, the principles of German orthography will be used as far as they are consistent, but every letter or combination is in every case to be pronounced according to the power here indicated—except in literal quotations, where the originals are followed. A single vowel letter is always to be read short, and when doubled it must have the same sound, but lengthened—but as a single vowel letter is often read long in German, and as short vowels are often indicated by doubling a consonant letter, this absurd mode is sometimes used to prevent mispronunciation through carelessness.<sup>1</sup> The 's' is also sometimes doubled to prevent it from becoming English 'z' with readers who, in careless moods, might rhyme 'as' (as) with *has* instead of *fosse*. In a PG. poem of Rachel Bahn, commencing with—

"Wie soothing vocal music is!  
Wie herrlich un wie schoe!"

<sup>1</sup> For example, as the vowel of German *schaf* is long, the PG. word 'schaflait,' which occurs in a quoted passage farther on, would be likely to be read 'schaafleit' (sheep-people or shepherds) instead of 'schaaffleit' (work-people), although it is stated that in the spelling used, a vowel *must not be made long* unless its letter is doubled. "This tendency, and a trick of reading words like *nisbut*, *relation*, *qismut*, *fortune*, as if written *nisbut*, *qismut*, should be carefully guarded against. . . . Even is, as, *russm*, will, in spite of the caveat, . . . become again in his mouth *iz*, *az*, *ruzm*, rather than the *iss*, *auss*, *russm*, intended."—*Gilechrist*, 1806.

most English readers would be likely to rhyme 'is' with *phis* instead of *hiss*, which will be prevented by writing 'iss,' etc.

Although I have visited various counties of the State at distant intervals, the facts given here pertain chiefly to a single locality, so that if it is stated, for example, that 's' with its English sound in 'misery' does not occur, or that 'kēp' (head) is used to the exclusion of *haupt*, it is not intended to assert that such a sound as z, or such a word as *haupt*, have not a local existence. In fact, although they are not recorded here, English z, w, and v, may be common enough. A German confounds *met* and *mat*, *cheer* and *jeer*, and when he becomes able to pronounce them all, he not unfrequently creates a new difficulty, and for *cherry* says *jarry* (rhyming *carry*), and after he has acquired sounds like English z, w, and v, they might readily slip into his German speech.

The letter b and its spirant (German v) both occur, and the latter often replaces b, in one region 'ich haw' (I have) replaces 'ich hab,' German *ich habe*, and 'nit' replaces 'net' (not), German *nicht*. The vowels of *up* and *ope* interchange, as in 'kech' or 'koch' (cook) 'nech' or 'noch' (yet); and it is difficult to determine whether the prefixes *ge-* and *be-* have the vowel of *bet* or *but*. Lastly, the nasal vowels are by some speakers pronounced pure. Should discrepancies be found upon these points, they are to be attributed rather to the dialect than to the writer—or to the two conjointly.

### § 2. The Vowels.

E. indicates *English*; G. *German*; SG. *South German*; PG. *Pennsylvania German* (or 'Dutch'); a preceding dot indicates what would be a capital letter in common print. It is used where capital forms have not been selected, as for æ.

a in *what*, *not*; PG. *kat* (G. *gehabt*) *had*; *kats eat*.

aa (ah<sup>1</sup>) in *fall*, *orb*; PG. *haas hare*; *paar pair*; *haan* (G. *hahn*) *cock*; *tsaam* (G. *zaum*) *bridle*.

ə in *aisle*, *height*, *out*. In a few cases it is written ä. See under the diphthongs.

<sup>1</sup> High German letters which represent PG. sounds are in parentheses.

- æ (ä, e<sup>1</sup>) in fat; hær (G. Herr) *Sir*; dær (and d'r, G. der) *the*; hærn (G. hirn) *brain*; schærn, pl. schærne (G. stern) *star*; mær (G. måhre) *mare*; særchst (G. erst) *first*; wærts-haus (G. wirtshaus) *inn*.
- ææ (ä, äh) in baa, the preceding vowel lengthened.<sup>1</sup> PG. bæær (G. bär) *bear*; kæær E. *car*.
- e (ä, ö) in bet; PG. bet *bed*; net (G. nicht) *not*; apnéma (G. abnahme *decline*) PG. a wasting disease; het (G. hätte *had*), which, with some other words, will sometimes be written with ä (hätt) to aid the reader. In a few cases it is lengthened (as in thêre), when it is written ê, as in French.
- ee (ä, äh, eh, ö) in ale; PG. meal (G. mehl) *meal*; eel (G. öl) *oil*.
- ø (e, o, a) in but, mention;<sup>2</sup> PG. kep (G. kopf) *head*; los (G. lasz) *let*, hawø (*a short*, G. haben) *to have*.
- i (ü, ie, ö) in funny; nik (G. nichts) *nothing*; tsrik (G. zurück) *back*; möglich (G. möglich) *possible*; lit'rlich (G. liederlich) *riotous*.
- ii (ih, ie, ü) in feel; füll (G. viel) *much*; dii (G. die) *the*; riïwe (G. rübe) *turnip*; wiischt (G. wüst, ü long) *nasty*. It is the French ï, which is sometimes used in these pages.
- o in o-mit; los *loose*; hofnung *hope*. English o pronounced quickly.
- oo in door, home; wool (G. wohl) *well*; groo (G. grau) *grey*.
- u in full, foot; mus (G. musz) *must*; fun (G. von) *of*.
- uu (uh) in fool; kuu (G. kuh) *cow*; guut (G. gut) *good*.

The true 'a' of arm does not occur, except approximately in the initial of au and ei. The proper sounds of ä, ö, ü are absent, and if these letters are used in a few cases to enable the reader to recognise words, the two former will be restricted to syllables having the vowel sound in met, and 'ü' to such as have that in fit.

### § 3. *The Diphthongs.*

- ei (eu) in height, aisle, German ei, with the initial 'a' (italic) of Mr. Ellis (in his *Early English Pronunciation*), 'eu' has the same power in PG.
- ai in boy, oil; somewhat rare, but present in the names Boyer, Moyer (from Meyer), ai (G. ei) *egg*; ajor (aajor, aijor) *eggs*; hai (G. heu) *hay*; bai ( sounding like E. boy, and from E.) *pie*; wai (G. weihe) *hawk*. Literary German has it in 'bäume' *trees*, and 'eu' (which is properly oi) is usually confounded with it in German.
- ei, which Mr. Ellis (*ibid.*) gives as the power of English 'ai' (aisle) in London, occurs in the PG. exclamation 'hei,' used in driving cows, and naturalised in the vicinal English. Slavonic has (in German spelling) huj, and Hungarian hü, used in driving swine. Compare Schmidt, Westerwäld. Idiot., p. 276.

<sup>1</sup> The long vowel used by native speakers in Bath, Somersetshire, England.

<sup>2</sup> These two powers are not quite the same.

au in *house*; G. *haus*, PG. *haus*. English ‘ou’ is thus pronounced in adopted words like ‘County,’ or ‘Caunty,’ ‘Township’ or ‘Taunschip.’

*Care must be taken* not to confound the initial of these pairs, for G. and PG. ‘eis’ (ice) and ‘aus’ (out) have the same initial vowel, while ‘aister’ would spell *oyster*.

#### § 4. *Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs.*

PG. is not a harsh dialect, like Swiss. It has, however, the Suabian feature of nasal vowels,<sup>1</sup> but to a less extent. They will be indicated with (.) a modification of the Polish mode. This nasality replaces a lost *n* (but not a lost *m*), and it does not pervert the vowel or diphthong, as in the French *un*, *vin*, as compared with *une*, *vinaigre*. Nor does it affect all vowels which have been followed by *n*, for most of them remain pure. Nasal ‘ee’ (in *they*, French *é*) is very common, but does not occur in French, and French *un* does not occur in PG. Being unaware of the existence of this feature, the writers of the dialect neglect it in the printed examples, which makes it difficult for a foreigner to comprehend them, because a word like ‘aa’ (the English syllable *awe*) would stand for G. *auch* (also), and when nasal (aa<sub>1</sub>) for G. *an* (on); and ‘schtee’ would represent both the German *stehe* and *stein*, as in saying ‘I stand on the stone’—

G. Ich stehe auf dem stein.—PG. ich schtee uf m schtee.

The following words afford examples:—

aa-fang-e (G. *ansangen*) *to begin*; alée, (G. *allein*) *alone*; schee, (G. *schön*) *handsome*; bee, (G. *bein*, pl. *beine*) *leg*, *legs*; kee, (G. *kein*) *none*; grii, (G. *grün*) *green*; duu, (G. *thun*) *to do*. Was het är geduu,? (G. *Was hat er gethan?*) *what has he done?* mei, (G. *mein*, *meine*) *my*; dei, (G. *dein*) *thy*; nei, (G. *hinein*) *within*; ei, being the only nasal diphthong.

The obscurity arising from a neglect of the nasal vowels appears in the following lines—

“ Die amshel singt so huebsch un’ feih,  
Die lereh sie duht ihr lied sh neih;” . . .  
“ Awhaemle duht mich eppes noh.”—*Rachel Bahn*.

Final *n* is not always rejected, but remains in many words, among which are—‘in’ *in*; ‘bin’ *am*; ‘un’ *and*; ‘iin’ (*him*)

<sup>1</sup> Indicated in 1860 in my Analytic Orthography, §§ 661-3, and in my note to A. J. Ellis’s *Early English Pronunciation*, 1869, p. 655, note 2, col. 2. “The lost final *n* is commonly recalled by a nasal vowel.”

G. *i hn* (but *hii*, for G. *hin* thither); ‘fun’ (from) G. *von*; ‘wan’ (when); ‘hen’ (have) G. *haben*; ‘kan’ (can); ‘schun’ (already) G. *schen*.

German infinitives in -en end in -e in PG., a vowel not subject to nasality, so that when G. *gehen* (to go) remains a disyllable it is ‘gee’-e,’ but when monosyllabised it becomes ‘gee,’—this vowel being nasalisable. Similarly, G. *zu stehen* (to stand) becomes ‘tsu schtee’ and ‘tsu schtee,’; G. *zu thun* (to do) may be ‘tsu tau,’—‘tsu tuue,’ or (with *n* preserved) ‘tsu tuune,’ and G. *gehen* (to go) may have the same phases.

### § 5. *The Consonants.*

The Germanism of confusing b, p; t, d; k, g, is present in PG. and they are pronounced *flat*, that is, with more of the surface of the organs in contact than in English—a characteristic which distinguishes German from languages of the Dutch and Low-Saxon (Plattdeutsch) type.<sup>1</sup> This must be remembered in reading the examples, in which the ordinary usage of these letters will be nearly followed.

The consonants are b, ch, d, f, g (in *get, give*), gh, h, j (English *y*), k, l, m, n, ng, p, r (trilled), s (in *seal*, not as in *miser*), sch (in *ship*), t, w (a kind of *v* made with the lips alone). ‘ch’ has the two usual variations as in *recht* and *buch*, and its sonant equivalent ‘gh’ (written with ‘g’ in German) presents the same two phases, as in G. *regen* and *bogen*. ‘ng’ before a

<sup>1</sup> The real physiological generation of these *flat* consonants is very difficult for an Englishman to understand. Dr. C. L. Merkel, of Leipzig, a middle-German, confesses that for a long time he did not understand the pure b, d, not having heard them in his neighbourhood. He distinguishes (*Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 146–156), 1. The “soft shut sounds” or *mediae*, characterized by an attempt to utter voice before the closure is released, 2. “the half-hard shut sounds” or *tenues implosive*, characterized by a sound produced by compressing the air in the mouth by the elevation of the larynx, the glottis being closed, which “therefore acts like a piston,” followed by the sudden opening of the mouth and glottis allowing the vowel to pass, (this is his description of the *flat* sounds, which he says Brücke, a Low-Saxon, reckons among his *mediae*), 3. “the hard explosive shut sounds,” characterized by a shut mouth and open glottis through which the unvocalised breath is forced against the closing barrier more strongly than in the last case, but without pressure from the diaphragm; 4. “the aspirated or sharpened explosive sound,” in which the last pressure occurs with a jerk. The compound English distinction, p, b; t, d; k, g, seem almost impossible for a middle and south-German to understand.—A. J. E.

vowel as in *singer*, hence ‘finger’ is *fing-er* and not *fing-ger*. ‘n’ before ‘k’ is like ‘ng,’ as in G. *links* (on the left), which is pronounced like an English syllable. Vowels to be repeated are indicated by a hyphen, as in *ge-ennert* (altered), *nei-ich-keit* (novelty).

Should letters be wanted for English j, z, v, w, the first may have *dzh*, and the others italic z, v, w, with ks for x.

As the reader of English who speaks PG. can learn the German alphabetic powers in half an hour, PG. should be written on a German basis, and not according to the vagaries of English spelling, with its uncertainty and reckless sacrifice of analogy. In print, PG. should appear in the ordinary roman type, in which so many German books are now published.<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. Stein or Schtein?

The sequents *sp*, *st*, are perhaps universally converted into ‘schp’ and ‘scht’ in PG., as in ‘geescht’ for *gehest*, ‘hascht’ for *hast*, ‘Kaschp’r’ for *Caspar*, ‘schtee’ for *stein*, and ‘schpeek’ for *speck*, all of which are genuine German, as distinguished from Saxon, Anglosaxon, and Hollandish, because *S* is incompatible before labials (w, m, p) and dentals (l, n, t) in High German. Hence, where Dutch has *zwijn*, *smidt*, and *speelen*, German has *schwein*, *schmidt*, and *schpielen*; and for Dutch forms like *slijm*, *snee*, and *steen*, German has *schleim*, *schnee*, and *schelein*; but as the German uses the conventional spellings ‘spielen’ and ‘stein,’ he is apt to fancy that a law of speech is of less importance than the flourishes of a writing-master, or the practice of a printing-office, even when his own speech should teach him the law.

That German has this feature practically, is proved by the fact that words apparently in *sp-*, *st-*, become *schp-*, *scht-*, when adopted into Russian, although this language has initial *sp-*, *st-*,—a transfer of *speech* rather than of *spelling*, which is as old as the thirteenth century, when the Old High German

<sup>1</sup> On the inconsistencies of Rauch’s Orthography on an English basis, see my note 2, p. 655 of Ellis’s *Early English Pronunciation*.

'spiliman' (an actor) went into Old Slavonic as (using German spelling) 'schpiljman,' where 'spiljman' would have been more in accordance with the genius of the language.

### § 7. *Vowel Changes.*

Altho the pronunciation of many words is strictly as in High German, there are the following important variations. German *a* becomes normally the vowel of *what* and *fall*, but it has the Swiss characteristic of closing to 'o,' as in 'ool' (eel) G. *aal*; 'ee, mool' (once) G. *ein mal*; 'woor' (true) G. *wahr*; 'joor' (year) G. *jahr*; 'frooghe' (to ask) G. *fragen*; 'frook' (a question) G. *frage*; 'doo' (there) G. *da*; 'schloofə' (to sleep) G. *schlafen*; 'schetroos' (street) G. *strasse*; 'nooch' (towards) G. *nach*; 'hoor' (hair) G. *haar*, but 'paar' (pair) and others do not change.

The vowel of *fat* occurs in 'kschær' (harness) G. *geschirr*; 'hærpscht' (autumn) G. *herbst*; færtl (fourth) G. *viertel*; kærl (fellow) G. *kerl*.

German 'o' becomes 'u,' as in 'kume' (*u* short, see § 2) *to come*, Austrian *kuma*, G. *kommen*; 'schun' (already) G. *schon*; 'fun' (of) G. *von*; 'wuunə' (to reside) G. *wohnen*; 'wuu' (where) G. *wo*; 'sun' (sun) Austr. *sunn*, G. *sonne*; 'suu,' and 'suun' (son) G. *sohn*; 'númitaag' and 'nómidaak' (afternoon) G. *nachmittag*; 'dunerschtaag' (thursday) G. *dunnerstag*; 'hunich' (honey) G. *honig*.

German 'ei' is often 'ee,' as in 'heem' (home) G. *heim*; 'deel' (part) G. *theil*; 'seef' (soap) G. *seife*; 'bleech' (pale) G. *bleich*; eens (one) G. *eins*; 'tswee' (two) G. *swei*.

Irregular forms appear in 'maulwarf' (mole) G. *maulwurf*; 'blës' (pale, rhyming *lace*) G. *blass*; 'siffer' (tippler) G. *säufer*; 'schpoot' (late) G. *spät*, à long; 'm'r wellə' (we will) G. *wir wollen*; 'dii úmeese' (the ant) G. *die ameise*; 'ep,' 'eb' (whether) G. *ob*; 'dærfe' (to dare) G. *dürfen*; 'færichterlich' (frightful) G. *fürchterlich*; 'ich færicht mich dat [or dart, G. *dort*] anə tsu gee.' *I fear me to go yonder.*

'Dat anə' is for G. *dort hin*, 'anə' being a Swiss adverb

made of G. *an* (on, towards). ‘dat’ is not common in PG. and it may have been brought from abroad, as it occurs in Suabian—

“Aepfel hott ma dott gsia, wie d’ Kirbias bey üss;” (Radlof, 2, 10.)—(Man hat dort gesehen) Apples have been seen there like (G. Kürbis, PG. kærpsæ) pumpkins with us.

The foregoing ‘ane’ appears in Swiss “ume und anne” (thither and hither) where ‘ume,’ Austr. ‘uma,’ is from G. *um* (about). Stalder refers ‘anne’ to G. *an-hin*, and Swiss ‘abe’ to *ab-hin*. Schmid (Schwäb. Wb., p. 23) has *ane*, *dortane*, *dettane*. Schmeller (Bayer. Wb. 1869, p. 91) cites Graff (1, 499), for Ohg. *ostana* (from the East), and Grimm (3, 205).

While PG. ‘alt’ and ‘kalt’ (old, cold, *a* in what) have the comparatives ‘eltær’ ‘keltær,’ the influence of *r* in ‘karts’ (short), G. *kurz*, and ‘hart’ (hard), produces ‘kærtser’ and ‘hærtær,’ instead of G. *kürzer* and *härter*. Long *a* becomes long *u* in G. *samen* (seed), PG. ‘suumə.’

### § 8. Diphthong Changes.

German ‘au’ sometimes becomes ‘aa’ (in call), as in PG. ‘laafe’ (to walk) G. *laufen*; ‘glaabe’ (to believe) G. *glauben*; ‘kaafe’ (to buy) G. *kaufen*; ‘tsaam’ (bridle) G. *saum*; ‘traam’ (dream) G. *traum*; ‘fraa’ (wife, woman) G. *frau*, PG. pl. ‘weiwər,’ because, as the German plural of *frauen* could not well make ‘fraae,’ the plural of *weib* was preferred.

German ‘au’ remains in PG. ‘plauum’ (plum) G. *pflaume*; ‘daum’ (thumb); ‘haufə’ (heap); ‘saufe’ (to sup); ‘haus’ (house); ‘taub’ (dove) G. *taube*; ‘aus’ (out); ‘fauscht’ (fist).

German ‘au’ becomes ‘oo’ (Eng. floor) in PG. ‘groo’ (grey) an earlier form of G. *grau*; ‘bloo’ (blue) G. *blau*; and the name ‘Stauffer’ is sometimes pronounced ‘stoof’r.’

In the plural, ‘au’ becomes ‘ei,’ as in PG. ‘haus,’ pl. ‘heiser;’ ‘maus’ pl. ‘meis;’ ‘laus’ pl. ‘leis;’ ‘maul’ (mouth) pl. ‘meiler’ G. pl. *mäuler*; ‘gaul,’ pl. ‘geil,’ G. pl. *gäule* (horses); ‘sau’ (sow, hog), pl. ‘sei,’ G. pl. *säue, sauwen*.

When ‘au’ has become ‘aa’ the German plural äu becomes ‘ee,’ as in ‘beem’ (trees) G. *bäume*; ‘tseem’ (bridles) G. *zäume*.

'Floo,' G. *floh* (flea) pl. 'flee' for G. *flöhe*, is due to the fact that German long ö is replaced by ee.

German *au* is *u* in the earlier PG. 'uf' (up) G. *auf*, found in Switzerland and other localities; but 'haus' is not *hüs*, and 'maul' is not *mül* as in Swiss.

### § 9. Words lengthened.

Some monosyllables are dissyllabised under the influence of trilled *r*, and of *l* (which is akin to *r*), as in 'Jar'ik' (York); 'Jær'ik,' German *Georg* (George), perhaps the only example of the Berlin change of G to (German) J.

PG.	G.	E.	PG.	G.	E.
schtar'ik	stark	strong	dar'ich	durch	through
mar'ikt	markt	market	kar'ep	korb	basket
ær'ewet	arbeit	work	bær'ik	berg	hill
ker'ich	kirche	church	mil'ich	milch	milk
karrich	karren	cart	kal'ioh	kalk	lime
geene	gehen	to go	genunk	genug	enough
reeghere	regnen	to rain	wammes	wamms	jacket

PG. g'seene (seen) G. *gesehen*, occurs in South German, as in the following (Radlof 2, 100), which closely resembles PG.

. . . . vun der Zit an het me nik's me vun em g'sehne un g'hört. *From that time on, ('mē' G. man) one (hat) has seen and heard nothing ('mē' G. mehr) more of him.*

G. Es fängt an zu regnen und zu schneien. PG. es fangt (not fängt) aa, tsu reeghera un tsu schnee. *It begins to rain and to snow.*

### § 10. Words shortened.

Condensation is effected by absorption, as of *d* by *n* in 'wuner' (wonder) G. *wunder*; and of *f* by *p* in 'kəp' (head) G. *kopf*—by the elision of consonants (an Austrian feature) as in 'wet' (would) G. *wollte*; 'net' (not) G. *nicht*.

By elision of vowels (particularly final *e*) as in 'schuul' (school) G. *schule*, 'tsammə' (together) G. *zusammen*; and by shortening vowels, as in 'siw'e' (seven) G. *sieben*; 'gew'e' (to give) G. *gēben*; G. *heurathen* (to marry), Suab. *heuren*, PG. 'heiərə'; G. *gleich* (like) PG. 'glei'; 'tsimlich' (tolerable) G. *siemlich*.

PG.	G.	E.	PG.	G.	E.
niks	nichts	<i>nothing</i>	mr sin	wir sind	<i>we are</i>
wet	wollte	<i>would</i>	géscht'r	gestern	<i>yesterday</i>
set	sollte	<i>should</i>	nemme	nehmen	<i>to take</i>
knap	knopf	<i>button</i>	nam'itag	nachmittag	<i>afternoon</i>
knap	knöpfe	<i>buttons</i>	geblwa	geblieben	<i>remained</i>
kich	küche	<i>kitchen</i>	jets <sup>1</sup>	jetzt	<i>now</i>
kuuchæ	küchen	<i>cake</i>	parr'e	pfarre	<i>preacher</i>
wech	woche	<i>week</i>	oowæt	abend	<i>evening</i>
weche	wochen	<i>weeks</i>	weipsleit	weibsleute	<i>women</i>
kiwl	kübel	<i>bucket</i>	rei,	herein	<i>herein</i>
blos	blase	<i>bladder</i>	nei,	hinein	<i>hither-in</i>
meim	meinem	<i>to my</i>	draa,	daran	<i>thereon</i>
aner	ander	<i>other</i>	eltacht	älteste	<i>oldest</i>
naner	einander	<i>each other</i>	tswiwlæ	zwiebeln	<i>onions</i>
uner	unter	<i>under</i>	hend	hände	<i>hands</i>
drune	darunter	<i>ther'under</i>	plets	plätze	<i>places</i>
nuner	hinunter	<i>down there</i>	numma <sup>1</sup>	nun mehr	<i>only</i>
dro'we	daroben	<i>above</i>	nimme <sup>1</sup>	nimmer	<i>never</i>
driw'e	dariüber	<i>ther'over</i>	mee <sup>1</sup>	mehr	<i>more</i>
drin	darin	<i>ther'in</i>	noo	darnach	<i>ther'after</i>
ruff	darauf	<i>there up</i>	plunk	pflug	<i>plow</i>
nuff	hinauf	<i>up there</i>	pliighæ	pfluge	<i>plows</i>
sind	sünde	<i>sin</i>	kalener	kalénder	<i>calendar</i>

As G. 'ü' becomes 'i' in PG., G. *lügen* (to tell a lie) and *liegen* (to lie down—both having the first vowel long) might be confused, but the latter is shortened in PG., as in 'ær liikt' (he lies down) 'ær liikt' (he tells a lie).

PG. Was wi't? *What wilst thou?* G. Was willst du?

Woo't weep? Woo't fight? Woo't teare thy selfe?<sup>2</sup>

Ich wil fische gee.. *I will go to fish.*

Ich hab kaschriwwa. *I have (geschrieben) written.*

Sin mr net keiert? *Are we not married?* G. Sind wir nicht geheirathet? (or verheirathet.)

Infinitive -n is rejected, as in the Swiss and Suabian dialects. In an Austrian dialect it is rejected when *m*, *n*, or *ng* precedes, as in singa, rena, nehma, for *singen*, *rennen*, *nehmen*.—Castelli, Wörterbuch, 1847, p. 31.

The length of some vowels is doubtful, as in 'rot' or 'root' (red, like English *röte* or *röde*), 'so' or 'soo,' 'nochber' or 'noochbər,' 'emol' or 'emool,' 'ja' or 'jaa,' 'sii' or 'si' (she, they, I in deceit, not in *sit*). Compare English 'Sēe!' and 'Sēe thēre!'

Accent in PG. agrees with that of High German. When indicated, as in danóot or danoot' (for the 'oo' represent a single vowel, as in Eng. *floor*), it is to afford aid to the reader not familiar with German accent.

<sup>1</sup> Swiss forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamlet*, act 5, sc. 1, speech 106; folio 1623, tragedies, p. 278, col. 2.

## CHAPTER III.

## VOCABULARY.

The vocabulary of PG. has but few synonyms, a single word being used where High German has several, as ‘*plats*’ (place) for G. *platz* and *ort*. Of the German words for *horse* (pferd, ross, gaul, etc.), ‘*gaul*’ is universal in speech, *ross* seems not to be known, and *pferd* is almost restricted to print.<sup>1</sup> A colt is not called *füllen* as in German, but ‘*hutsch*,’ with a diminutive ‘*hutschli*’ (in Suabian *hutschel*, *hutscheli*, Westerwald *husz*, Lusatian *hussche*.)

A pig is not *ferkel* (Lat. *porc-ell-us*, Welsh *porch-ell*) but ‘*seili*’ (from *sau*), and children call it ‘*wuts*’ (Suab. *butzel*) a repetition of this being used (as well in vicinal English) in calling these animals. ‘*Kalb*’ (calf, pl. ‘*kelwər*’) is named by children ‘*hameli*<sup>2</sup>’ when a suckling. Cows are called with ‘*kum see ! see ! see hameli ! see !*’ and when close at hand with ‘*suk suk suk*’ (as in *forsook*)—used also in the English of the locality.<sup>3</sup>

Of G. *knabe* (boy) and *bube*, pl. *buben*, PG. takes the latter as ‘*buu*’, pl. ‘*buuwə*;’ and of the G. *haupt* and *kopf* (head) it prefers the latter as ‘*kep*.’ Of the verbs *schmeissen* and *werfen* (to throw), *kriegen* and *bekommen* (to obtain), *hocken* and *sitsen* (to sit), *schwetsen* and *sprechen* (to talk), *ergählen* and *sagen* (to tell), PG. uses ‘*schmeissə*,’ ‘*kriighə*,’ ‘*hekə*,’ ‘*schwetse*’ and ‘*saaghe*’ almost exclusively.

The suffix -lein, condensed to -li and -l, is the universal diminutival, as in Switzerland and South Germany—a small

<sup>1</sup> Of words not occurring in print, the Swiss, Bavarian, and Suabian form *bruntsen* replaces *harnen* and its synonyms.

<sup>2</sup> Seemingly akin to Swiss *ammeli*, *mammeli* (a child’s sucking-glass), whence *mämmelen* (to like to drink). G. *amme* (a wet-nurse), in Bavaria, also a mother.

<sup>3</sup> PG. des kalb sukt (this calf sucks,) G. *saugt*.

house being called ‘heissli’ and not *häus-chen*, and a girl ‘meedl’ and not *mädchen*. It is, however, very often associated with the adjective *klee*, (little) G. *klein*, as in PG. ‘*ə klee, bichli*’ (a little book).

German *kartofeln* (potatoes) is rejected for G. *grundbirnen*<sup>1</sup> under the form of ‘*krumpiire*,’ where ‘*krum*’ is accepted by some as *krumm* (crooked), while some regard the latter part as meaning *pears*, and others as *berries*.

**F'rleicht, Fileicht** (perhaps, G. *vielleicht*) are in use, but the former seems the more common.

**Sauerampl,** G. *sauerampfer* (sorrel, Rumex).

**Rewwer, Krik, Krikli** (Eng. *river, creek*) have thrust aside G. *fluss* and *baoh*.

**Laafe** (to walk ; G. *laufen* to run, and to walk).

**Schpring-e** (to run, a Swiss usage. G. *springen*, to leap, spring, gush).

**Petse** (to pinch), Alsace *pfetse*, Swiss *pfätszen*, Suab. *pfetzen*.

**Tref** (Suab., a knock, blow). PG. ‘*ich tref dich*’ (I strike thee).

**Schmuts** (a hearty kiss). Swiss, Suab., in G. *schmatz*.

**Un'ich** (under), G. *unter*, occurs in provincial German as *unn-ig* and *unt-ig*; *hinnig* occurs also, PG. ‘*hinnich*,’ as in ‘*hinnich d'r diir behind the door*’.

Wii m'r donaus gleffe sin, bin ich hinnich iin nooch gleffe. *As we walked out, I walked behind him.*

For ‘*hinnich*,’ Alsatian has *hing-e*, as in ‘M'r geen hing-e [nach den] noo de goorte noo’—*We go along behind the garden.*

**Uumet, oomet,** Austr. *omad*, Swiss *amet*, G. *das grummel* (after-math). Suab. *ämt*, *emt*, *ömd*, *aumad*; Bavar. *ämäd*.

**Arik, arrig** (much, very), Swiss *arig*, G. *arg* (bad, cunning).

PG. Ich hab net gwist [Suab. *gwest*] dass es so arrik reeghert. *I did not suppose it to be raining so hard.*

**Artlich** (tolerably) is the Swiss *artlich* and *artig*.

**Ewwa,** G. adv. *ēben* (really, even, just), but it is PG. ‘*eewa*’ when it is the adj. *even*.

Ich hab ewwa net gwist for sure eb sr e fraa het eder net. (*Rauch.*) *I did not even know ‘for sure’ if he has a wife or not.*

**āmanat, adv.** metathesised and adapted from G. *an einem Orte* (at a place), a dative for an accusative *an einen Ort* (in a place) as

<sup>1</sup> This name seems to have been originally applied to the crooked tubers of the Jerusalem artichoke, and *humming-bird* was probably applied to moths of the genus *Sphinx* (named from the form of the larva) before the bird bearing this name was known in Europe.

used here. In the example, ‘ane’ is G. *an* inflected, and *zu* of *zu schicken* is omitted, as sometimes done in PG.

... wan als e briif kummt f'r āmanat ane schike . . . (*Rauch.*) When ever a letter comes for to send on—to be sent on.

**Henkweide** (weeping willow). G. Hängebirke, is hanging birch.

**Tapper** (quickly), as in Schpring tappēr *run quick! be in a hurry*—thus used in Westerwald, and as *very* in Silesia. G. tapfer (brave, bravely), E. dapper.

**Meener** (more), **Meenscht** (most), for G. *mehr, meist*, are referable to *mancher* and a hypothetic *mannigste*. ‘Mee’ and ‘mee,’ (more), Swiss—“Was wett i meh?” *What would I more.* “Nimme meh,” *never more.* PG. ‘Was wet ich mee? Nimmi mee.’ (See *Ellis*, Early English Pronunciation, p. 663, note 39.)

**Schtrublich, schtruwlich.** G. *struppig* (bristly, rough), Swiss *strublig*, PG. ‘schtruwlich’ (disordered, uncombed, as hair). English of the locality *stroobly*.

**Neewich;** SG. *nebensich*, Wetterau (upper Hessia) *nēbig*, G. *neben* (beside).

“Naevvich der mommy ruht er now [Eng. *now*]

In sellem Gottes-acker<sup>1</sup> dort,

Shraegs<sup>2</sup> fun der Kreutz Creek Kerrich nuf, [hinauf.]

Uft denk ich doch an seller ort!”—*Rachel Bahn.*

**Henschling**, G. *handschue* (gloves, Sw. *händschen*) becomes a new word with ‘hen’ for *hände* (hands), the ä umlaut being used to pluralise, but the word is singular also, and, to particularise, a glove proper is ‘fing-er henschling’ and a mitten ‘fauscht-henschling.’ This termination is given to ‘pärsching’ a peach.

**Sidder** (since), Swiss *sider, sitter*; Suabian and Silesian *sider*; Scotch, etc., *sithens*.

**Schpel** (a pin), SG. *die spolle* (a better word than G. *stecknadel*); Dutch *speld* (with *d* educed from *l*); Lat. SPIcuLa.

**Botser** (masc. a tail-less hen), Holstein, *buttars*. Provincial G. *butzig* (stumpy).

**Mallikop** (i.e. thick-headed, a tadpole). Swiss *mollig, molli* (stout, blunt); Suabian *mollig* (fleshy). Alsatian *muurkreentl* (tadpole) from *muur*, G. *moder*, Eng. *mud*. The PG. of western New York has taken the New England word *polliwog*.

**Blech** (tin, a tin cup); dim. ‘blechli.’ Blechiche Bool (a tin *bowl*, i.e. a *dipper*, a convenient word which seems not to have been introduced). In Pennsylvanian English, a tin cup is *a tin*.

<sup>1</sup> Scarcey legitimate, the PG. word for a grave-yard being *kærich-hof*.

<sup>2</sup> Diagonally.

In old English, 'than' represented *than* and *then*, and PG. has 'dann' for both G. *dann* (then) and *denn* (for); and also 'wann' for *wann* (when) and *wonn* (if), as in Rachel Bahn's lines—

"Doch guckt 's ah recht huebsch un' nice      Doch guckt 's aa recht hipesch un' neis'

Wann all die Baehm sin so foll ice—" Wan al dii beem sin so fel eis—  
Yet it looks (auch) also right fair and 'nico' WHEN all the trees are so full of ice

"Forn bild der reinheit is 's doh,  
In fact, mer kenne sehne noh,  
Dass unser Hertz<sup>2</sup> so rein muss seih,  
Wann in des Reich mer welle neih."

F'r 'n bild der reinheit<sup>1</sup> iss es doo,  
'in fakt,' m'r kenne seene noo,  
dass unser härts so rein<sup>1</sup> muss sei,  
wann in des reich m'r welle nei.

*For a picture of purity is it (da) here, ‘in fact’ (wir können sehen darnach) we can perceive therefrom, that our heart must be as pure, (wenn in das reich wir wollen hinein) if we would enter into the kingdom.*

**Baschte** (to husk maize), from 'bascht,' G. *bast* (soft inner bark, E. *bast*), applied in PG. to the husk of Indian corn.—Rachel Bahn (1869) thus uses it—

"Die leut sie hocke's welschcorn ab,  
'S is 'n rechte guhte crop,  
Un' wann's daer genunk werd sei,  
Noh baschte sies un' fahres eih."

Dii leit sii hacke 's welschkarn ap,  
's iss 'n rechte guute 'crap,' (fem.)  
un wan 's daerr genunk wäert sei,,  
noo baschte sii 's un faare 's ei..

The people they (ab-hacken) chop off ('s, das) the maize, (es ist) it is a right good 'crop,' and when (es) it becomes (dürre genug) dry enough, they (darnach) afterwards husk it and (fahren) haul it in.

**Greislich** (to be disagreeably affected). SG. grüslich, G. gräzlich  
(horrible). E. grisly.

Noo, danoo', danoot, nord. G. darnach (then, subsequently).

Bendl (a string), schuubendl (shoe-string). Swiss bändel.

**Schteiper**, n. (Lat. *stipes*), a prop, as of timber. G. nautical term  
*steiper*, a stanchion. **Schteinera**, v.t. to prop; to set a prop.

**Ferhüttele**, v. intrans. ‘Ich bin f'r-huttlt.’ (I am confused, perplexed.) ‘Ich denk dii bissness iss 'n bissli f'r-huttlt.’ (I think the ‘business’ is a bit mixed up.) G. verhüdeln (to spoil, bungle.)

**Paanhaas**, as if, G. *pfanne-hase* (pan-hare). Maize flour boiled in the metsel-soup, afterwards fried and seasoned like a *hare*. (Compare Welsh *rabbit*.) The word is used in English, conjointly with *scrapple*.

**Loos** (a sow), as in Swiss and Suabian.

**Laad**, fem. (coffin), *toodlaad*, *toodəlaad*, as in Alsace. G. *die lade* (chest, box, case). PG. *bettlaad*, Suab. *bettlade*, for G. *bettgestell* (bedstead).

<sup>1</sup> By analogy these words should be *rei.* and *rei.heit*, but as they are scarcely PG. they are given as High German.

<sup>2</sup> This word is correct without the elisive mark, which perverts the syntax.

**Schitreal**, m. (a comb), Swiss, Alsatian, Suab. der strähl. But G. striegel, PG. striegel, PG. strigl, is a currycomb.

**Aarsch**, the butt end of an egg, as in Suabian.

**Falsch** (angry), as in Swiss, Bavarian, and Austrian. PG. Sel het mich falsch g'macht. *That made me angry.*

**Hoochtsich**, Alsat. hoochtaitt, G. hochzeit (a wedding).

**Heemeln**, Swiss heimeln (to cause a longing, to cause home feelings).

"Wie hämelt mich do alles a'!                   Wii heemlt mich doo-alles aa, !

Ich steh, un denk, un guck;                   ich schtee, un denk, un gukk;

Un was ich schier vergessa hab,               un was ich schir frgessa hab,

Kummt wider z'rück, wie aus seim Grab,    kummt widd'r terik, wii aus seim graab,

Un steht do wie e' Spook!" *Herb.*           un scheet doo wii e schpukk!

(G. Wie alles da anheimelt mich) *How all here impresses me with home, I stand, and think, and look; and what I had almost forgotten, comes back again as out of its grave, and stands here like a ghost.*

**Drep**, pl. drep (simpleton, poor soul). "O du armer Tropff!"  
(Suabian). *Radlof*, 2, 10. "Die arma Drep!"—*Harbaugh*.

**Schwalme** (Swiss, for G. schwalbe, a swallow).

**Jaa** (O. Eng. yes), is used in answer to affirmative questions.

**Joo** (O. Eng. yea), is used in answer to negative questions. See Ch. viii, § 1, ¶ 12, and § 3, ¶ 2.

"Sin dii sache dei, ? Jaa, mi sin." (Are the things thine? Yes, they are.) "Sin dii sache net dei, ? Joo, sii sim?" (Are the things not thine. Yea, they are.) "Bischt du net g'sund ? Joo, ich bin."<sup>1</sup> (Are you not well? Yea, I am well.)

**saagt**, G. *sagt* (he says): **secht**, as if G. *sägt*, for *sagte* (he said), as if it were a strong verb.

**Gleich**, to like, be fond of, Eng. to *like*, but perhaps not Eng.  
See Ch. viii., ¶ 3. PG. *ær gleicht s geld*—*he loves money.*

**Glei**, adv. (soon).—*ær kummt glei*—*he comes* (will be here) *directly.*  
Swiss *gly* and *gleich* have the same meaning.

**Abartich**, bartich, Ch. viii., § 3, ¶ 6 (adj. unusual, strange); (adv. especially). G. *abartig* degenerate.

"Der duckter sogt eara complaint war . . . conclommereashen im kup, so dos se so unfergleichlich schwitzsa mus in der nacht, abbordich wan se tsu gedeckt is mit em fedder bet."—*Rauch*, Feb. 1, 1870. *The doctor asserts her 'complaint' to be . . . 'conglomeration' in the head, so that she must sweat uncommonly in the night, PARTICULARLY when she is covered [tsu is accented] in with the feather bed.*

**Biibi**, piipi, biibeli; Swiss bibi, bibeli, bidli (a young chicken).

Used also to call fowls—the second form in the vicinal English, in which a male fowl is often called a hé-biddy.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. D. Ziegler.

The Swiss use in PG. of the genitive form *des* of the article, instead of the neuter nominative *das*, causes little or no confusion, because this genitive is not required, and its new use prevents confusion between *das* and *dass*. Where German uses *des*, as in *Der Gaul des* (or *meines*) *Nachbars* (the horse of the, or my, neighbor), PG. uses a dative form—

... dem (or meim for meinem) nochber sei, gaul (the neighbor his horse). See the quotation (p. 28) from Schöpf.

PG. inflects most of its verbs regularly, as in 'gedenkt' for G. *gedacht*, from *denken* (to think). In the following list, the German infinitive, as *backen* (to bake), is followed by the third person of the present indicative (er) *bäckt*, PG. (ær) 'bakt' (he bakes). The PG. infinitive of *blasen*, *braten*, *fragen*, *rathen*, *dürfen*, *verderben*, is 'bloose, broote, frooghe, roote, dærfe, f'rdaerwe.' 'bloose' (to blow) and 'nemme' (to take) occur below, in the extract from Miss Bahn.

G.	G.	PG.	G.	G.	PG.
blasen blow,	bläst	bloost	lesen read,	liest	leest
braten bake,	brät	broot	lassen let,	läetzt	leest
brechen break,	bricht	brecht	messen measure,	miszt	meest
dreschen thresh,	drischt	drescht	nehmen take,	nimmt	nemmt
dürfen dare,	darf	dærf	rathen advise,	räth	root
fahren drive,	fährt	faart	saufen tipple,	säuft	sauft
fallen fall,	fällt	fallt	schelten scold,	schilt	sehelt
fragen ask,	frägt	frookt	schlafen sleep,	schläft	schlooft
essen eat,	iast	east	schwellen swell,	schwillt	schwelt
fressen devour,	fräzt	freest	sehen see,	sieht	seet
geben give,	giëbt	gept	stehlen, steal,	stiehlt	schteelt
graben dig,	gräbt	graapt	tragen carry,	trägt	traagt
helfen help,	hilft	heift	verderben spoil,	verdirbt	f'rdaerpt
laufen run,	läuft	laast	vergessen forget,	vergiszt	f'rgæast

"Der wind, horch yusht, wie er drum  
bloss'd, . . .

Gar nix for ihm fersichert is,  
Er nemmt sei segner waek  
Dorch ennich risell geht er nei,  
Un geht ah nuf die stack."

D'r wint, harich juscht wii er drum  
bloost, . . .

Gaar niks f'r iim f'resichert iss,  
er nemmt sei, eegnor week,  
dorich ennich risell geet er nei,  
un geet aa 'nuf dii schteek.

*The wind, just listen how it therefore (an expletive) blows, . . . quits nothing is secure for (on account of) him, he takes his (eigener weg) own way; through (einig, einiges) any crack he goes (hinein) in, and goes also (hinauf) up the (stiege) stair.*

The reader of PG. may be puzzled with 'ma' as used in "eus so ma subject . . . mit ma neia Rail Road" (*Rauch*); 'fun me' or 'fun ema,' Ger. dative *von einem*, Old High German 'vone einemo ;' G. *dem*, Ohg. 'demo ;' G. *meinem*, Gothic

'meinamma,' which accounts for the final PG. vowel. Miss Bahn writes it 'mah'—

'S is noch so 'n anre glaener drup,  
Mit so mah grosse dicke kup,  
Der doh uf English screech-owl haest,  
  
Der midde drin hut ah sei nesht.'

's iss noch so n anre gleenør dræp,  
mit soo me grosse dikkø kep,  
dær doo uf eng-lisch 'skriitech-aul'  
heest,  
dær midde drin het aa sei nescht.

*There is yet such another little fellow, with such a large thick head, this here in English is called 'screech-owl,' the middle therin [of the tree] has also its nest.*

Remarking on "grosse dicke kup" in the second line, my reverend friend Ziegler sends me the following declensions of the united article and adjective. The dative is used for the genitive, as will appear in the chapter on Syntax.

Nom., Accus. en ('n) grosser dicker kopp,  
 Dat., Gen. eme ('me) grosse dicke kopp.

### Singular.

Nom. der root wei . . . , iss guut. *The red wine is good.*

Gen. dem rootə wei, . . . sei farb is schee.

Dat. " " " . . . hab ich 's tsu ferdanke.

Acc.    dii roete wei . . . . hat aer gedrunke.

### *Plural:*

Nom. dii roote wei . . . sin guut. *The red wines are good.*

Gen. denne roote wei . . . iir farb etc. (G. der rothen Weine Farbe ist schön.)

Dat.      "      "      "      . . . hab ich 's etc. (G. den rothen Weinen.)

Acc. dii roote wei, . . . . hat sar, etc.

## CHAPTER IV.

## GENDER.

§ 1. *Gender of English Words in Pennsylvania German.*

German gender and declension might be said to be in a state of barbarism, were it not that some of the languages of savages have refinements which are wanting in the tongues of civilised people. German gender being in a high degree arbitrary and irrational, there seem but few principles applicable to introduced words, and yet, the linguistic instinct produces a measure of uniformity. The clear distinction in modern English between a spring and a well, does not exist between the German *der quell* (and *die quelle*, PG. 'dii qkel') and *der brunnen*, but German has *der spring* also, which may be used alone, or compounded in *springquell* or *springquelle*. Influenced by English, PG. uses 'dii schpring' for a natural spring of water, keeping 'd'r brunne' for a well, 'tsig-brunne' for a draw-well with a windlas and bucket—but also 'laafende brunne' for a spring.

As a German says 'dii' for the English article *the*, which he hears applied to everything singular and plural, and as this *die* is his own feminine and plural article, he will be likely to say 'dii fens' for *the fence*, 'dii set' (set, of tools, etc.), 'dii faundri' (foundry), 'dii bænk' (bank of a stream), 'dii færm' (farm), 'dii plantaasche' (plantation), 'dii témeti' (timothy hay), 'dii portsch,' 'dii schtæmp ('stämp' in print, for G. *der stempel*), 'dii watsch' (timepiece), 'dii bel hat geringt' (the 'bell' has 'rung'), "Stohrstube . . . mit einer offenen Front," (Store-room with an open front), "die Fronte<sup>1</sup> des Hauses" (the 'front' of the house), "Die Sanitäts Board," "Eine Lot Stroh," "Eine Lotte Grund," etc. All of these are feminine

<sup>1</sup> Such italics for English words are no part of the original.

in PG., together with the English nouns *alley*, *road*, *borough*, *square* (of a town) *fair*, *forge*, *creek* (a stream), *climate*, *bowl*, *vendue*, *court* (at law), *law*, *lawsuit*, *jury*, *yard* (of a house), —

Als Herr Yost . . . einen groszen Neufundländer Hund in seiner *Yard*<sup>1</sup> anders anbinden wollte, fiel ihn das Thier an . . . der Hund wieder an ihn sprang, und ihn gegen die *Fenz*<sup>2</sup> drängte, . . . *Der Pennsylvanier*, Lebanon, Pa. Sept. 1, 1869.

Of the masculine gender are *river* (PG. ‘*rewer*’), *bargain*, *crop*, *beef* (but ‘*gedörtes beef*’ makes it neuter), *carpet*, *turnpike* (or *pike*), *store*, *gravel*, *shop*, *smith-shop*, *shed*, and of course words like *squire*, *lawyer*, and “*assnie*.”

Of the neuter gender are “*das främ*” (frame), “*das flaur*” (flour, influenced by G. *das mehl*), *das screen*, *das photograph*, *das piano*, *das supper*, *das buggy*.

Wishing to know the gender of the preceding English words in another county, the list was sent to the Rev. Daniel Ziegler, of York, Pa., who assigns the same genders to them, adding *der settee*, *die umbréll*, *die parasol*, *die bréssont* (prison), *das lampblack*, *das picter* (picture), *das candy*, *das cash*, *das lumber* (building timber), *das scantling*, *das pavement*, *das township*.<sup>3</sup>

German *die butter* (butter) is masculine in PG. as in South Germany and Austria; and *die forelle* (the trout) is PG. ‘*dær ferél*.’ G. *die tunke* (gravy) is neuter under the form ‘*tunkes*’ in PG., which makes the *yard* measure feminine, although in Germany (and in print here), it has been adopted as masculine.

Variations in grammatic gender are to be expected under the degenderising influence of English, but at present the

<sup>1</sup> This mode of indicating words is used to avoid corrupting the text with italics.

<sup>2</sup> As this essay is passing through the press, I add the following examples, which are all in print.

*Der charter*, deed (legal), *kumbug*, lunch or lunach, ein delikater Saurkraut-Lunch. *Revennetarif*, crowd, fight, molasses, Select-Council, crop (fem. with Miss Bahn). Im Juli—schreit der Whipper-will.

*Die jail*, legislatur, Grandjury or grand Jury, ward (of a city), lane, toll, gate, pike or peik, bill (legislative), Cornetband or Cornet Band, eine grosze Box (of medicine), gefängniszbox, platform, manufactory, shelfing, counter.

*Das County*, committee or comite, picnic, screen (coal-screen), law (also fem.), trial, verdikt, basin (reservoir), Groszes Raffle für Turkeys und Gänse, . . . ausgeraffelt werden.

German genders usually remain, as in *der stuhl* (chair), *der pfug* (plough, PG. 'pluuk'), *der trichter* (funnel, PG. 'trechter'), *der kork* (cork, PG. karik), *der indigo*, *der schwamm* (spunge), *die egge* (harrow, PG. 'eek,' sometimes 'ék'), *die bank* (bench), *die wiese* (meadow, PG. 'wiss'), *die kiste* (chest or chist, PG. kist), *das tuch* (cloth), *das messing* (brass, PG. 'mës,' like Eng. *mace*), *das füllsel* (stuffing, PG. 'filtsl').

### § 2. *The German Genders.*

In various aboriginal languages of America there are two genders, the animate and the inanimate—with a vital instead of a sexual polarity; and while German can and does associate gender and sex, its departure from this system is marked by objects conspicuously sexual, which may be of the neuter gender, and by sexless objects of the three genders.

It is easy to see why *das kind* (the child) is neuter, but under the ordinary view of the rise of grammatic gender, it is not easy to see why, in modern German, *der leib* (body) should be masculine, and *das weib* (woman, wife) of the same gender as the child—why *die liebe* (love) should be feminine, and *der friede* (peace) masculine. In German, the genders are incongruous, in English they are congruous, the masculine and feminine being correlatives, with correlative relations to the neuter also, and by dropping the false nomenclature of the German genders, we may be able to get a more philosophic view of them as they now exist, independently of the Old High German system of gender and declension, which accounts for their later condition.

If we adopt *strong* for the German masculine gender, there would be nothing gained if the feminine were called weak, but with the first as *strong*, the second as *soft*, and the third as *dull*, we would have three terms which do not suggest correlation or sex, and we might see nothing irrational in the fact that *man* might be of the strong, and *woman* of the dull gender; and that *peace* might be strong, and *love* soft.

Of the *strong* gender are *mann*, *dieb*, *freund*, *mord*, *mund*, *hase* (of energetic action), *aal*, *salm*, *fisch*, *tisch* (*strixos*), *käse* (*caserus*), *schnee*, *klei*, *stock*, *fink*.

(a strong-billed bird), *apfel* (naturally *harsh*), *stahl*, *stiefel*, *schuh*, *strumpf*, *fuss*, *keil*, *bart*, *baum*, *daum*, *dorn*,<sup>1</sup> *punkt*, *stich*, *beginn*, *rubin*, *diamant*, *klump*, *kummer*, *verstand*, *name*, *tag*, *halm* (a rough material), *floh*, *krebs*, *skorpion*, *hummer*, *hals*, *fels*, *saft*, *bau*, *rath*, *werth*, *zoll*, *fluss*, *Rhein*, *raub*, *acker*, *bogen*.

Of the *soft* gender are *birne*, *hand*, *historie* (Lat. -ia), *liebe*, *hoffnung*, *wohnung*, *stadt*, *burg* (implying also jurisdiction), *sonne*, *gluth*, *milch*, *rahm*, *amsel*, *drossel*, *butter*, *feder*, *gans*, *maus*, *ratte*, *luft*, *frucht*, *nacht*, *macht* (as if personified), *armuth*, *kraft*, *furcht*, *kunst*, *haut*, *frau*, *wurst*, *schnur*, *bahn*, *marsch*, *welt*.

Of the *dull* gender are *weib*, *grab*, *brod*,<sup>2</sup> *blei*, *eisen*, *gold*, *silber*, *zinn*, (but *der zink*,) *geld*, *feld*, *land*, *vieh*, *pferd* (the type being agricultural), *rind*, *joch*, *pech*, *haar*, *ange*, *bein*, *dorf*, *ding*, *mensch*, *mädchen*, *volk*, *hirn*, *leben*, *wort*, *buch*, *gesetz*, *herz*, *gemach*, *loth*, *glück*, *werk*, *boil*, *messer*, *schwert*, *glas*, *fenster*, *feuer*, *licht*, *wetter*, *wasser*, *bier*, *malz*, *kraut*, *lamm*, *ei*, *haupt*, *kalb*, *loch*.

<sup>1</sup> From a Gothic masculine in -us,—*das horn* being from a Gothic neuter in -n.

<sup>2</sup> Primitive bread was probably rather heavy than light—if a mnemonic view may be taken.

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1. THE ENGLISH INFUSION.

Pennsylvania German has long been recognised as a dialect with certain English words, which are sometimes inflected in the German manner. Sportive examples were quoted in the last century, and one is occasionally cited as characteristic, which occurs in Joh. Dav. Schöpf's Travels (1783-4) published at Erlangen, in 1788, and thus quoted by Radloff,<sup>1</sup> but in German characters :—

"Mein Stallion ist über die Fehnsz getecheumpt, und hat dem Nachbor sein whiet abscheulich gedämatscht." (My *stallion* *jumped* over the *fence* and horribly *damaged* my neighbor's *wheat*.)

This example is probably spurious and a joke, because PG. 'hengscht' and 'weetse' (instead of *stallion* and *wheat*) are in common use—for the Pennsylvania farmer uses German terms for introduced European objects, and if he calls *rye* 'karn' (G. *korn*), instead of *roggen*, this itself is a German name for what is in some localities regarded as corn by excellence. Another example of Schöpf has 'gekläret land' (cleared land), and 'barghen' (bargain), which are correct.

The German brings with him a vocabulary which is not quite adapted to the objects around him, and he improves his language by dropping such of his words as have an indefinite meaning, replacing them with terms which have an exact and scientific value, where High German is weak and indefinite—having failed to Latinise its vocabulary at the revival of learning. The Pennsylvanian uses 'fenss' or 'fents' (not "fehnsz") for the English *fence*, because the German *zaun* is equally a *hedge*; he uses 'flaur' (or 'flauer' Eng. flour) as well as the German *mehl*, because the latter is equivalent to English meal; he seizes upon *bargain* as better than anything in his vernacular.

<sup>1</sup> Mustersaal aller teutschen Mund-arten, . . . Bonn, 1822, vol. 2, p. 361. By a type error, *m* of *getecheumpt* was omitted. See also Dr. Mombert's History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1869, p. 373.

lar; and he restricts G. *wagen* (with the sound of ‘waghe’) to *wagen*, adopting a variation like “*bändwagen*” for a vehicle used by a musical band, using ‘*kerritsch*’ (“*carriagemacher*”) for the English *carriage*, altho ‘*kutsch*’ (G. *kutsche*) is also in use. He adopts English expressions for clearing land and speaks of a *clearing* (which he makes feminine) because the destruction of forests by chopping and burning is not a European practice. Railroads were probably built in America before they were in use in Germany, and in Pennsylvania, our English name was imitated in ‘*reelroot*’ (*Plankenroad* is in print) or, as in many other cases, the word was translated into “*riegelweg*.” At a later date the foreign name “*eisenbahn*” was brought in by later immigrants—and “*riegel-bahn*” is in use.

### § 2. *Newspapers.*

The Pennsylvania German appreciates humor, and to avoid the humorous and often illegitimate use of English words, the first examples in these pages will be selected from the advertisements of about a dozen different newspapers, all printed in the barbarous German character, and published at distant points in Pennsylvania. In such compositions, the attention of the public is called to common objects in a vocabulary which can be accepted without hesitation, and in a style somewhat above the colloquial, in which a horse is called ‘*gaul*’ and not *pferd* (‘*pfært*’) as usual in print. The spelling is sometimes English and sometimes more or less Germanised, without much affecting the pronunciation, as in “*store*” (a retail shop<sup>1</sup>) or “*stohr*” (*buchstore*, *storehalter*, *stohrhau*s), which are equally ‘*schtoor*; “*frame*,’ (*främe*, *främ*, *frähm*), are equally the English *frame*; “*schap*” (*shap*, *schop*, *schopp*, *shop*, pl. *schöp*); “*township*” (*townschip*, *taunschip*); “*county*” and “*caunty*; “*turnpike*” and “*turnpeik*; “*cash*” and “*casch*.”

In some localities, English names of streets like *King*, *Queen*, *High*, *Water*, *Chestnut Street*, are used in German speech and print, and in others, *Königstrasse*, *Quienstrasze*, *Highstrasse*, *Wasserstrasse* and *Chestnutstrasse*, are preferred.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on next page.

As parenthetic words like (Dry Goods) occur in the originals, explanations will be [in brackets], and attention will be called to strictly English words by putting them in *italics*.

The "Pennsylvanische Staats-Zeitung" (published at Harrisburg, the State Capital) claims a larger circulation than any English journal of that city, and the number for Nov. 25, 1869, will be quoted here in the original spelling. Here, where English introduced words might be expected throughout, certain French words are adopted from the German dictionaries, such as *reparaturen*, *delikatessen*, *lagerbier* *salon* (also *saloon*)<sup>1</sup>; *etablissement*, *engagiren*, *quotiren*, *instruiren*, *autorisiren*, *ordonnanz*. Others are rather English than French, as *pavements*, *arrangements*, *publikationspreisen*, *textbücher*, *jury*, *city*, *controle* (. . . so wie dasz die City alleinige Controle über denselben Committee . . . .), *connektion*, *construktion*, *order*, *governör*, *provisionen*, *groceries*.

Beste Familien-Mehl, in Fässern [in another journal—Roggenflaue per bärrel—preim flaur] superfine per Bärrel; Prime weizen; Roggen [rye] per Buschel. Korn [maize or Indian corn, properly called Welschkorn in the same column under the quoted Lancaster prices, where "Korn" means rye.] Hafer; Middlings; Shorts.

#### In the Price-current we find—

Fische . . . Rock [Labrax lineatus]; Pike [for Hecht, pl. Hechte, a known term]; Halibut; Haddock; Sturgeon; Trout; White Perch [Labrax albus, vel mucronatus]; Weisse Fische [Coregonus albus]; Härringe; Catfische [Pimelodus, more commonly called 'katsäfisch'].

Fleische . . . Roast Beef per Pfund; Rump Steaks; Surloin; Hammelfleisch; Schweinfleisch; Gedörrtes Beef [Getrocknetes Rindsfleisch is quoted from Pittsburgh]; Beef Schinken; . . . Meas Pork; . . . Schmalz in kegs; Lard-Oel; Butter (roll . . . print) [with 'roll' and 'print' in Roman type]; Molasses [commonly called mälässich]; Süszkartoffeln [a translation of sweet-potatoes, instead of bataten]; Schellbarks [nuts of the shell-bark hickory]; Äpfelbutter (Latwerg) [G. Latwerge, PG. lätwærík, translated from E. apple-butter].

#### In the humorous department we find—

Ein ähnliches Räthsel wie sell eine, war scho [schon] früher im Päper; . . . Sie sind gemuvt?<sup>2</sup> Very well, . . . Sell isch e guat's<sup>3</sup> Plätzl . . . sellem Joseph am Eck<sup>4</sup> lasse mer nix [lassen wir nichts] zu leids thun; . . .

<sup>1</sup> Any place where liquor is retailed is called a saloon, and in a certain town a cabin with a single room is labeled DON JUAN WALLING'S SIGN EMPORIUM.

<sup>2</sup> 'You have removed' (your residence), but the third person plural is not thus used in PG.

<sup>3</sup> G. ein gutes, but the Austrian extension *guät* is not PG.

<sup>4</sup> Neuter for feminine, as in Bavarian and Austrian.

The next examples are condensed from journals of various localities, all printed in the German character. The spelling and use of italics as before.

Der Grosze Wohlfeile *Dry Goods Store*. Jetzt eröffnet: Direkt von New York; *Bärgens* in Weiszgütern und Ellenwaaren (*Dry Goods*), Gemischte *Mohairs*; Schöne *Dress Ginghams*; *Long Cloth* [another has *Langes Tuch*].

*Country Orders* werden mit *promptheit* ausgeführt . . . Groszhandels oder *Wholesäle* Preisen zu *Retailen* oder einzelnen [others have "im groszen und kleinen," "Groz und Klein-Verkauf"] . . . *Ingrain* oder *Blumiger Kärpet*; . . . *Entry* und *Treppen* [stair] *Carpets*; *Cottage-Carpets*; *Floor Oel-Tücher* [another has *Boden-Oeltücher*]; *Marseilles* und *Honeycomb Quilts*; *Matting*, weisz und bunt.

Allgemeine *Stohrgüter*; Tücher für *Ladies Cloaks* [another has *Damen Cloakstoffe*.] . . . *Ladies Dress-Goods* [others have *Dressgüter*, *Dress-Anzüge*, *Dresswaaren*]; *Fancy-Waaren*; Ueberdecken; *Quilts* und *Tisch-Diapers*; *Napkins*; *Ticking* beim Stück; *Carriage Trimmings*; Extra grosze gequiltte *comfortables*; *Blänkets*; *Counter Paints* [counterpanes]; *Dry Goods* für Frühjahr und Sommer. Kein *Humbug*.

*Millinery Waaren*; *Ladies*-, *Misses*-, und Kinder Stroh und *Fancy Bonnets* und *Flats*; Corsetten; *Hoops* [others have *Hoopströcke*, and *Hoopskirts* in neuer *Shapes*]; Haar Zöpfen; Rollen; *Braids*; *Puffs*; *Dress-Trimmings*. Unsere "Fits" sind vollkommen. *Yankee-Notions* [another has *Notionen*]. *Shelfing* und *Counter* für einen *Stohr*.

Pelzwaaren jeder Art, . . . Zobel; *Chinchilla*; *Ermin*; *Siberien-Squirrel*; *Fitch*; Wasser-Mink.

*Wholesale* und *Retail* Händler in Aechten Rye *Whiskeys* von verschiedenen Bränden, Ausländischen und Einheimischen Brändies, Weinen, *Gin* [G. Wachholderbranntwein], feiner Claret, *Scotch Ale*, *Fancy Liquors*, *Pine Apfel Syrup*, *Cherry Wein* und *Kirschen Brandy*, *Demijohns* und Botteln von allen Gröszen.

Neue *Scale Pianoes*, mit eisernen Gestellen, *overstrung Base* und *Agraffe Bridge*. Ein schönen *Second Hand Piano*. Instrumenten zu groszen Bärgen . . . *Rotary Valve*<sup>1</sup> und *Side Action*<sup>1</sup> Instrumente [wind instruments].

Eisen-Store [Eisen-Stohr, Hartewaaren, Hardwaaren, Eisenwaaren] Küchen Ränges; Extra Grätes; Furnäces; Bar-Room-Oefen; Air-Tight und alle Sorten Parlor Oefen; Heating-Oefen [also Heiz-Oefen]; Brilliant Gas Burner; tragbare Heaters, und Gasbrenner; Feuer-bricks; Springs; geforged und gerolltes eisen; Schäfting; Safes; Meisel [properly meiseln] in Sets; Razor Straps und Hones; pullys; Carvingmesser, Butschermesser; Varnisch [for Firniß]; Neues Kohlenscreen; Boiler von allen Sorten; Brazzerbeit; Kaffeemühlen . . . verschiedene Haushaltgeräthschaften . . . welche *Retail* oder *Wholesale* zu den billigsten Preisen verkauft werden . . . Sie garantiren völlige Satisfaction.

Porzellan-Waaren Stohr: Queenswaaren; Dinner Sets; Toilet Sets; Toy Thee Sets; Chamber Sets; Schüszel mit Deckel; Bowlen (Bowls) aller Arten; Pitchers aller Arten; Suppen Tureens . . . all die letzten Styles [Styl is also in use]. Ein groszer Vorrath Waiters und Thee-Trays . . . Haus-Furniesching Waaren . . . Vasen . . . Chimney Tops.

<sup>1</sup> These four words are printed in Roman type.

*Schuhstore: India-Rubber, Lasting und Button Schuhe; hoch polisch Gaiters für Frauen . . . Kid Schuhe . . . Schlippers.*

*Juwellen, Watschen und Uhren auf Hand [also 'an Hand' for vorrätig]; Watschen in goldenen und silbernen Cäsen [another has Repeating-Taschenuhr, for Repetiruhr]; Watschen-ketten; Damen goldene Bräcelet Sets; Studs; Sleeveknöpfe; Messern [for Messer].*

*Möbel-Waarenlager: Auswahl aller Arten Möbel . . . Bureaus [also Burös, Buros, Büro]; Sideboards [Seidbord, Desk]; Dining-Tische; Lounges; Settees; [also Setties]; Wardrobes [also Garderobe-Artikel, and Kleiderschrank, the proper term]. Cänesitz Stühle; Fenster-blenden [and Blinde]; What-Nots; Spiegel mit Gold-Främs; Springbetten . . . Parlor, Chamber, und Küchen Möbeln . . . und alle andern Artikel welche in Möbel-Stohrs zu finden sind.*

*Bauholzhof [others have Lumber-yard and Bretterhof] . . . Alle Sorten von Bauholz wohl gesaisonet [also vollkommen ausgetrocknet]; Wetterboarding; Weiszpein [for Fichte] und Hemlock [for Tanne] Joists und Scäntling [another has Hardwood Skäntling] jeder Grösze; Bill-Stufs; Fenzstoffen [for pl. stoffe, others have Fensing and Fenspfosten]; Flooring [also Flurbretter]; Panel Lum-ber; Poplarboards [also Pappel]; Pickets [also Pälings, both for Pfähle] von allen längen.*

*Buchdruckerei . . . Job Schriften; Programms; Circulars; Tickets; Karten; Blanks; Handbills; Pamphlete; Billheads; . . . an seinem alten Ständ.*

*Oeffentliche Vendu [and Vendue—"Vendue Creier und Auktionär."] . . . Eine Bauerie [also Farm, and Plantasche] zu verkaufen . . . 110 Acker, 70 geklart [and geklärt] gelegen in Londonderry Taunschip, Lebanon [oftten Libanon] County, an der Strasse führend vom Palmyra Landing-Platze nach der Jonestaun Road, grenzend an den Lebanon Valley Riegelweg [and Rigelweg—a verbal translation of Railway. Others have—"Es grenzt an die Lebanon Valley Rail Road," and "Lebanon Thal Eisenbahn."] 2 meilen vom Stockyard [location for cattle]. Die Verbesserungen sind ein groszes wedergebordetes [Eng. weather-boarded; another has "Främ Haus wettergebordet"] Främhause [Frähm-scheuer, Bankscheuer, Frame-Arbeitsshop] neu tapezirt [papered] . . . mit fünf Stuben auf dem zweiten Floor; Garret [others have Dachstube, and Dachzimmer] Küche und Keller. Eine Cisterne [also Cistern] mit 33 Hogsheads; Kohlenbin unter dem pavément . . . Eine Baulotte [building lot of ground] 50 Fuzs front [also—die Fronte, and frontirend.] Schmiedechap [Wagenschoppen]; Wagenschched [zwei Wagenachäde] mit Cribs [and Krippen, Welschkornkrieb, Kornkribbe, Kornkribb]; Logscheuer [also Block-Wohnhaus, Logfrämehaus, blöckernes Haus]; mit Stein Basement [another has "Stallhoch Steinmauer"—the height of the stables of stone].*

*Das Land ist vom besten Gravel [also Gravel-Land, Flint, Kalkstein, Kalchstein, Feuerstein], und unter guten Fenzsen [and Fensen, alles unter Fenz, gut eingefenzt].—Laufendes Wasser geht durch den Scheuerhof [also Scheueryard]. Es ist bequem zu Poststellen, Kirchen, Schulen, Mühlen, Stohres, und Handwerkern.*

*Ein 6-jähriger brauner Gaul; . . . ein junges Baypferd; ein Sorrelpferd; ein Fallingtop-Buggy; ein Rockaway; ein Springwagen [hucksterwagen]; ein Stohrwagen mit drei Springs; eine Sweep Power Dreschmaschine; eine Set Stägegeschirr; Yankiegeschirr; Frontgeschirre [for horses in front]. Welsch-*

kornscheller [also Welschkornschäler, Welschkornscräper, Welschkornausmacher, handescheller]; Schneidbox; Wagenbox [and Wagenbody]; Molasses-Faktry; Mückengeshirre [Fliegen-Gesohirre, Fliegennetze]; 1 Lot Hausen's [housings for horses]; Windmühle, [translation of windmill, for Kornschwinge]; 1 Sink [kitchen sink - bench]; Martingales; Checkleinen; Cirkel-Säge [another has Circularsäge] mit Främ und Sträp.

Einige Pflanzgrundbeeren von Prince Alberts Sorte.

## CHAPTER VI.

## SYNTAX.

The confusion of forms in the declension of German articles, pronouns, and adjectives, as given in print, is avoided in dialects, and on the upper Rhine all classes use the masculine nominative *der* for the accusative *den*, thus making a step towards rational grammar—the feminine *die* and the neuter *das* being equally nominative and accusative. According to Radlof, from Switzerland to Holland, on both sides of the Rhine, there is scarcely a locality where the nominative is distinguished from the accusative and the dative, and he cites as examples—"ich trinke rother Wein" (for *rothen*); "ich habe der Esel gesehen" (for *den Esel*); "ich sitze auf der Baum" (for *dem Baum*).<sup>1</sup> In PG. this *rother* for *rothen* is sometimes cut down to 'root,' the common PG. neuter form, particularly with the *definite article*, as in—

Ich trink d'r root wei. *I drink the red wine.*

Was f'r wei, wit [willst du] trinka? *What kind of wine willst drink?*

Ich trink tschenèrli rooter wei.<sup>1</sup> *I 'generally' drink red wine.*

" . . . " Von der Schweiz an zu beiden seiten des Rheines hinab bis an Hollands gränzen, giebt es kaum einige Gegenden, wo man den Koch vom Kellner, den Herrn vom Knechte, den Hammer vom Ambosze, d.i. den Werfall (*Nominativ*) vom Wenfalle (*Accusativ*) und dem Wemfalle (*Dativ*) richtig zu unterscheiden vermöchte. Bald hört man nehmlich: "ich trinke rother Wein" bald: "ich habe der Esel gesehen" bald: "ich sitze auf der Baum." s.f.—Dr. Joh. Gottl. Radlof, Mustersaal aller deutschen Mund-arten, . . . Bonn, 1822; 2, 90.

Stalder (Schweiz. Idiotikon, 1812) gives the accusatives of *der* and *ein* as agreeing with the nominative, and under *ein* (1, 37) he has—Acc. wie der Nom., welches überhaupt zu bemerken ist.

[When I read extracts from this Treatise before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, Prof. Goldstücke and Dr. E. Mall, the latter an Alsatian, both considered that this presumed substitution of the nominative for the accusative or dative case must be a misapprehension. Dr. Mall declared himself totally unaware of it. Both considered that it must have resulted from the disappearance of the inflectional *-m*, *-n* (the latter of which is the rule certainly in the Rhine region), and the degradation of the preceding *e* vowel into *ə*. This would account for "ich trinke rother Wein," considering *rother* to mean 'roots,' but would not account for "ich habe der Esel gesehen," in which the *r* must be taken as trilled, unless we consider that first *den* was made into 'da,' and then the 'r' evolved as in the Cockney's 'idea-r of things.' Hence the original passages on which the assertions in the text are founded, have been added.—*Alex. J. Ellis.*]

G. Wir geben guten Lohn. PG. M'r gewwe guuter loo. *We give good wages.*  
 .en guuter freind (n guuti fraa, n guut haus) is n guut ding. *A good friend*  
*(masc.), wife (fem.), house (neut.) is a good thing (neut.).*

Seller mann het mei, huut alles ufgebræche. *That man has broken (meinen)*  
*my hat (alles auf) all up.*

Ich bin naus in dær hoof un bin unserær kats uf dær schwants getretta,  
 selli het mich gekratst. (Nsp.) *I went (hinaus) out, in (G. den Hof, m.) the*  
*yard, and trod on (G. den Schwanz) the tail of our cat, she scratched me.*

. . . weil ich mich geschämmt hab, bin ich uf dær schpeicher geschniikt  
 oone en wert tsu saaghe. (Nsp.) *While I shamed myself, I 'meaked' up to (den)*  
*the loft without a word to say.*

G. Das Wetter ist den ganzen Tag schön gewesen. PG. s wetter iss d'r gants  
 (or gans) daak schee, gwést. *The weather has been fine the entire day.*

G. Ich gehe in den Keller. PG. Ich gee in dær kellar. *I am going into the*  
*cellar.*

In the next, *Stuhl* being masculine, the nominative *der* is used for the dative *dem*, but the accusative *ihn* ('n) is preserved—

ær het uf d'r schtuul k'hekt, un het n frbreche. *He sat on the chair and has*  
*broken it.*

G. Liebe deinen Nächsten, als dich selbst. *Love thy neighbor as thyself.*  
 PG. Liib dei, nochber ass wii dich selwer.

G. Légt das Buch auf dēn Tisch. *Lay the book on the table.* PG. Leeg s  
 buch uf d'r tisch.

Here, if 'den tisch' were used in PG. it would rather mean *this table*, because there is a tendency to use articles as demonstratives, saying 'dær' for G. *dieser*, and 'sellør' (G. *selbiger*) for G. *jener*,—'sel' (G. *selbiges*) being its neuter, and 'sellí' (G. *selbige*) its feminine and plural. This 'sel' is found in Switzerland, and other parts of the Rhine region. Its Alsatian form *tsel*, with initial *t*, shows that it is akin to G. *dasselbe*. Notwithstanding its resemblance in form and function to Provensal *sel* or *cel*, French *celui*, *celle*, they are without etymologic relation. See Ch. VII., § 2. p. 43, and § 4, p. 45; and *Ellis*, Early English Pronunciation, p. 662, note 15.

'Das' (the) and 'es' (it) have a tendency to confusion under the short form 's used for both. 'Dass' (that) remains, and

<sup>1</sup> "Dii Jarik Kaunti leit, wann sii fum rootə wei, schwätzo, saaghe g'weenlich  
 —" "Ich trink rooter wei." "Wann sii awer kee rooter hen, dann trinka sii  
 weisser wann sii n kriighä kenne." *The Rev. D. Ziegler*, letter of Jan. 15, 1870  
 (literatim).

the neuter nominative article is changed from G. *das* to PG. ‘*des*,’ as in ‘*des buch*’ (the book)—but as ‘*des buch*’ may mean *this book*, the function of the article is performed by reducing this ‘*des*’ to ‘*s*,’ as in—

.s buch iss mei, *the book is mine*—*des buch iss mei, this book is mine*.

“Donn hab ich gedenkt [not *gedacht*], *des* is doch now ordlich plain deitsch,” . . . (*Rauch!*) *Then I thought, this is at-any-rate ‘now’ tolerably ‘plain’ Dutch.*

Dær mann iss krankor (not *kränker*) wie d'r annær. *This man is sicker than the other.* (G. als der andere.)

G. Ein Mann und eine Frau waren hier diesen Morgen. *A man and a woman were here this morning.* PG. Es war en mann un en frau hiir den märighe. *There was a man and a woman here this morning.*

G. Ich wünsche dass er komme. *I wish that he come.* PG. Ich wett (or wott, for *wollte*) dass sr deet [G. thät] kumma. *I would that he would come.* Swiss—I wett, asz er chäm. *Stalder*, 1, 112.

Swiss *asz* for *dass* is often used in PG., as in—

Wann ich geglaabt hätt 'ass er mich net betsaałt (or betsaałde deet), so hätt ich 'm gar net gebärlik (or gebaricht). *If I had believed that he would not pay me, I would (gar nicht) not at all have (geborgt) trusted him.*

Wann ich gedenkt [not G. *gedacht*] hätt 'ass es net woor wæær, dann hätt ich 's net geglaabt. *If I had not supposed it to be true, I would not have (geglaubt) believed it.*

G. Wäre er reich, er würde nicht betteln. *Were he rich he would not beg.* G. Wenn er reich wäre, so würde er nicht betteln. PG. Wann ær reich wæær, deet ær net betteln. *If he were rich, he would not beg.*

PG., like Swiss,<sup>2</sup> dislikes the imperfect tense, and prefers G. *Ich habe gedacht* (I have thought), to G. *Ich dachte* (I thought), which gives forms like—

Wii ich n gesee, hab, hab ieh gedenkt ær waert k'sund. *As I saw him (having seen him) I thought he would get well.*

Ich bin ganga *I have gone*; not G. Ich gieng *I went*, nor gegangen *ygone*.

Whan myn houfbond is fro the world i-gon,—*Chaucer, (Wright's ed.)* l. 5629. With menstralcy and noyse that was (y-)maked, l. 2526.

Bet is to be (y-)weddid than to bryinne. l. 5634.

PG. has also ‘*kumme*’ (has come) for G. *gekommen*, showing a tendency to follow a law which caused ge- (y-, i-) to be dropped in English. The practice seems to have started with

<sup>1</sup> In a spelling based upon English, and not fully phonetic. See *Ellis, Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 654–661.

<sup>2</sup> *Stalder* (1, 46) says that the imperfects *war*, *hatte*, *sagte*, *kam*, *rufte*, *kaufte*, would be scarcely understood in Switzerland.

*gekommen* and *gegangen*, because they are much used, and their initial guttural absorbs the guttural *g-* or *k-* of the prefix. In an Austrian dialect,<sup>1</sup> *ge-* disappears before *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *z*, as in "Ih bin kumma" (I have come), PG. Ich bin kumme.

PG. Ich hab s [G. gekauft] kaast im schtoor. *I bought it at the 'store.'* Hascht mei, briif krikt? *Hast* (G. gekriegt) *received my letter?* Ich schreib n briif. *I write a letter.*

"Der Charle hat jung geheiert un  
hat e fleiszige Fra krikt," *Wollen-* D'r 'Tschærli' het jung k'eiert un  
*weber*, p. 78. *het e fleissighe fraa krikt.*

'Charley' married young and got an industrious wife.

G. Es regne. *It may rain.* PG. s maak (G. mag) reeghore.

G. Es regnete. *It might rain.* PG. s kennt (G. könnt) reeghore.

G. Es habe geregnet. *It may have rained.* PG. s kennt reeghore hawwe.

PG. has the Swiss *als* (hitherto, formerly, always), a form in which it is not shortened into *a's*, as in—

ær hat als ksaat ær wær (or wæær) müir nik's schuldich. (*Ziegler*). *He has hitherto said he is to-me nothing indebted.*

Mr. Rauch, in his partly English spelling, has—

"Er but aw behawpt das mer set  
sich net rula lussa bi seiner fraw,  
un das de weiver nix wissa fun  
denna sachæ, un das es kens fun eara  
bissness is we an monn vote odder  
we oft er als drinkt."

.ær het aa behaapt dass mer set  
sich net 'ruula' lassæ bei seinar fraa,  
un dass dii weiwer nik's wissæ fun  
denna sachæ, un dass es kens fun eeræ  
'bissness' iss wii en mann 'woot,' eder  
wii eft ær als drinkt.

*He (has) maintained that one should not (lassen) let (sich) one's-self be 'ruled' by one's wife, and that the (weiber nichts wissen) women know nothing of such things, and that it is (keines von ihre) none of their 'business' how a man 'votes,' or how oft he (als) ALWAYS drinks.*

In the following Suabian example (Radloff 2, 17) *als* is a form of G. *alles* (all), and *schmieren* is used as in PG. for *to pay off, to trick.*

Kurz! i will olla eba macha  
Dafz oim 's Herz im Leib mu'fz lacha;  
I will au de Tuifel schmiera,  
Dafz er Niemä kan verführa,  
Hack' ihm boyde Hörner o,  
Dafz er nimma stetcha ka-.

In short, I will make all so even  
that the heart in one's body must laugh;  
I will also trick [den] the devil.  
that he none can lead astray—  
chop for him both his horns off  
that he cannot thrust again.

PG. 'dass' for *als* (with the sense of *as*), and 'dass wan' G. *als wenn* (South German of Breisgau *as wenn*) for *as if*, seems peculiar. The German adverbial particles admit of a

<sup>1</sup> Castelli, Wörterbuch, Wien, 1847, p. 30.

wide range of meaning, and in Low Austrian certain inversions occur, as *aussa* (aus-her) for G. *heraus*; *aussi* (aus-hin), also in old Bavarian, for G. *kinaus*, which would allow PG. 'dass' to be referred to *als dass* or *da(r)als*.<sup>1</sup> But independently of this surmise, the cutting down of the pronouns *des* (G. *das*) and *es te*'s, and *als* to *ass*, makes it as easy to accept *dass* for *als*, as 'd of English 'I 'd rather,' for *had* instead of *would*. Farther, as *da* has *als* for one of its meanings, this *dass* may be *da* with the adverbial suffix -s.<sup>2</sup>

"des land is aw frei for mich so goot das for dich."—Rauch, p. 32. . . . des land is aa frei fr' mich sooo guut dass fr' dich.

*This (not the) country is (auch) also free for me as well as for thee.*

"net wennicher dos siwe hunnert  
for dich un mich" . . . —Rauch, 1869.

*Not less than seven hundred for thee and me.*

"Er will hawa dos ich bei eam  
aw roof in Filldeify, un dat dos  
wann s tsu meiner advantage wär  
wann ich kumm."—Rauch, Aug. 16, '69.

*He will have that I (bei) at-the-house-of him [G. anrufen, perverted to an English idiom] call-on in Phildelphi [the common pronunciation] and (he) does AS IF it (were) would be to my 'advantage' if I come.<sup>3</sup>*

"Selly froke hut mich awer sheer gorly schwitsa macha, un ich hob g'feeld yusht grawd das wann ich mich full heaser halder tse g'suffa het un g'mixd mit tanzy, katzakraut un bembert."—Rauch, Aug. 9, 1869.

Selli frook het mich schür gaarli schwitese mache, und ich hab kfüllt jusccht graad dass waan ich nich fel heeser hulder tee kessef het um 'gmkast' mit 'tsensi' [*s* not as *z*] kat-sékrat un 'bebbermint.'

[Dieselbe Frage] That question however almost [G. gar] quite made me sweat, and I felt just exactly AS IF I had (G. gesoffen) drunk myself full of hot (G. Holder) elder tea, and 'mixed' with 'tanay' catnip and 'peppermint.'

"scheint m'r wärklich as wann du im sinn hätscht in deine alte daagha noch a Dichter tsu gewe (tsu wärre). Awer ich färrricht's iss tsu schpot; du hätscht e paar joer frier aa fange solle, dann wär vileicht ebbee draue [G. worden] warre." *It appears to me really AS IF you intended in your old days yet to become a poet. But I fear it is too late; you should have commenced a few years earlier, then perhaps something might have come of it.*

<sup>1</sup> Suabian condenses *da unten* to *dunda*. The Rev. D. Ziegler suggests that this 'dass' may have arisen from a *d*, as of 'grad' (G. *gerade*) before 'as' of *ale*, as in—*er schwätz grad as wann [G. wenn] er reich war.* (He speaks just as if he were rich.) \* See *Hald. Affixes*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> The present tense ('wann ich kumm') is used here for the G. subjunctive *wenn ich käme.*

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. D. Ziegler, transliterated by himself.

The next is from the description of a willow-tree with the 'nesht' (pl. of G. *nast*<sup>1</sup>) branches broken by ice.<sup>2</sup>

"Er guckt net gans so stattlich meh, Er guckt net gans so gross un' schoe D a s wie er hut die anner woch Wu'r all sei nesht hut katte noch."	.er guckt net gans soo schtattlich mee .er guckt net gans soo gross un schee, dass wii .er het dii aner woch wuu 'r all sei, nescht het katte noch.
--	--

*It (nicht mehr) no more looks quite so stately, it looks not (ganz) quite so large and fine, as that it did the (andere) other week, (wo er where he) when it (hat gehabt) has had all its boughs.*

At present PG. is exhibiting a tendency to drop G. *zu* (to), the sign of the so-called infinitive, altho in the following examples perhaps most speakers would use it.

Wann fangeſt aa, [tsu] ſchaffe? *When do you begin [to] work?*  
Ich hab aa, fangeſt ſchaffe. *I have begun (to) work.*  
. . . fiil anneri hen hart prowiert ſich farne nauſ ſchaffe. *(Rauch.)*  
*Many others (have) tried hard (to) work themſelves (G. vorn) forward.*

<sup>1</sup> The usual German is *ast*, pl. *äste*. Schmeller (*Mundarten Bayerns*, art. 610) notices the following examples of this initial *n* in Bavarian dialects; his phonetical spelling is given in italics, and interpreted into the present in brackets: der *N'd'n* [Noon] 'A'then; *N'dst* [noſt] Ast; die *Näf'n* [noozn] 'A'sen; *Naff'* [nassl] Assel; *När'b* [narb] Arb; *Niecht'* [neicht'e] Eichte; *Nuerr'* [Nuere] Urhab; *Nueſch* [Nuesch] Uesch. In art. 545 he also gives the form *o Lueſch*, and in art. 636, the form *o Rduſ/n*, for Uesch, a gutter, and 'A'sen, a beam or joist. *När'b* is the staple on the door, which carries the padlock; *Eicht* is a little while. The following are examples of omitted initial *n*, (ib. art. 611); der 'Apoleon Napoleon; *ids'* nider, *Ankinet* Nanquinet; '*Impf's*' burg Nymphenburg; ganz 'atürl'i' natürlich; 'eben, 'iabm neben; 'achor, 'ache' nachher; *E'st*, *ieſt* Nest. St. Antwein und St. Nantwein, Aventin Chron. Edit. v. 1566, fol. 470.—Compare the English added initial *n* in *nickname* (nekename for ekename, see Pr. Parv.), *niggot*, *nugget* for ingot; *newt* for eft, ewt; *nawl* for awl; *nunkle* for uncle; *Nan*, *Ned*, *Noſt*, for Anne, Edward, Oliver:—and the omitted initial *n* in *adder* (old edres and neddras), *apron* for napron, *eyas* for nias.—*A. J. Ellis.*

<sup>2</sup> Poems. By Rachel Bahn, York, Pa. 1869. Containing twenty pages of "Poems in Pennsylvania Dutch." Noticed by me in Trübner's *American and Oriental Literary Record*, Jan. 24, 1870, p. 634. The following may be consulted also:

Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben . . . von L. A. Wollenweber. Philadelphia und Leipzig. Schäfer und Koradi, 1869.

Harbaugh's Harfe. Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart. Philadelphia, Reformed Church Publication Board, 1870.

On the German Vernacular of Pennsylvania. By S. S. Haldeman. Trans. Am. Philological Association, 1869-70.

Lancaster Pa. WEEKLY ENTERPRISE (newspaper), with a weekly article by Mr. Rauch.

Der Waffenlose Wächter (monthly newspaper). Gap P.O., Lancaster Co. Pa. Early English Pronunciation, . . . by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1871. Twelve pages (652-65) are devoted to Pennsylvania German.

Pälzische G'schichte . . . von Franz von Kobell. München, 1863. In the main, this little volume of 'Palatine Stories' comes nearer to Pennsylvania German than any other I have seen.

"De meed . . . hen kea so kleany      Dii meed hen kee, soo klee,ni  
 bonnets g'hat di nix sin for hitz      'bannets' katt dii nik's sin fr' hits  
 odder kelt; es wara rechtshaffene      ed'r kelt; es waare rechtschaffene  
 bonnets, das mer aw sea hut kenne      'bannets,' dass m'r aa sees het kenne,  
 ohna de brill uf du."—*Nsp.*      oone dii brill uf [tsu] duu.

*The girls (haben gehabt) had no such small 'bonnets' (die) which are nothing for heat or (kälte) cold; there were honest 'bonnets' that (mir) one (auch) also could see without putting the spectacles on.*

PG. Sometimes distinguishes between the present tense and the aorist, as in Swiss—"er thuot choh" (he does come)—

Seller hund knarrt. *That dog growls* (has a habit of growling).

Seller hund tuut (G. thut) knarre. *That dog is now growling.*

D'r mann tuut esse—ær iss am esse. *The man is eating—he is at eating.*

PG. does not use equivalents to *neither* and *nor*.

G. Er ist weder reich noch arm. *He is neither rich nor poor.* PG. ær iss net reich un net aarm.

E. He is either sick or lazy. PG. ær iss krank øðer faul. (Or, adopting either and its idiom) ær iss 'iiter' krank øðer faul.

In a case like the last, no matter how well the speaker knows English, he must *not* pronounce a word like 'either' in the English mode, because it would be an offense against the natural rhetoric of the dialect.

## CHAPTER VII.

## COMPARISONS WITH OTHER DIALECTS.

§ 1. PG. *not Swiss.*

PG. is not Swiss, altho it has a number of Swiss characteristics, and the line (Radloff, 2, 68)—

“Was isch säll für e sufere kärli?”

is very near its PG. form—

Was isch sel f'r e sauber kärli? *What sort of cleanly fellow is that?*

PG. has both ‘ær iss’ and ‘ær isch’ (he is) according to the locality, of which the latter may be less common. The Rev. D. Ziegler (a native, like myself) refers the ‘isch’ variety to the Mennonite and Dunker population, and as there were many Dunkers (or Tunkers) where my early years were passed, I heard more of this than of the other.

The indicative mood present tense of *haben* and *sein* are, with some variations, as follows (Stalder, 1, 47–50)—

<i>Swiss.</i>	<i>PG.</i>	<i>Swiss.</i>	<i>PG.</i>
i hah ;	ich hab, hap, <i>I have.</i>	i bi ;	ich bin, <i>I am.</i>
de hest;	du hascht, <i>thou hast.</i>	de bisch, bist ;	du bischt, <i>thou art.</i>
er hed, hett ;	ær hat, <i>he has.</i>	er isch, ist ;	ær iss, isch, <i>he is.</i>
mer hend ;	m'r hen, <i>we have.</i>	mer sind ;	m'r sin, <i>we are.</i>
der hend ;	d'r hent, <i>you have.</i>	der sind ;	d'r sint, <i>you are.</i>
sj hend ;	sii hen, <i>they have.</i>	sj sind ;	sii sin, <i>they are.</i>

Here the dative singular *mir* (to me) is used in the nominative plural instead of *wir* (we), and also in impersonal expressions; and the dative singular *dir* (to thee) is similarly used for *Ihr* (you), as in ‘d'r sint’ for G. *Ihr seid* (you are). G. *Ihr habet* (you have) has forced its *t* upon the first and third persons plural of the Swiss forms; and in PG. the second person is sometimes forced upon the third, as in the following, from the Wollenweber’s Gemälde (in the German character), 1869, p. 124,—

For äbout 32 Johr z'rick,  
do hent unsre ... Schaffleut  
...im Stenbruch geschafft, un sten  
gebroche, for de grosze Damm zu  
fixe.

'Fr**e**baut' tswee-un-dreischich joor tsrik,  
do hent unsre ... schaffleit ...  
im schtee,bruch geschafft, un schtee,  
gebrachè f'r di grosse 'damm' tsu fixe.

*'For about' thirty-two years back, here have our laborers worked in the quarry, and quarried stone to 'fix' the big 'dam.' (Here the English *fix* and *dam* are used, instead of G. *fäxen*, and *der damm*.)*

Here the first *for* may be regarded as English, but the second occurs in the Palatinate—"for den Herr Ring sehr ungünschtig" (Kobell), *for Mr. Ring very unfavorable*—"for sei Lügerei,"—*for his truthlessness*.

The next is extracted from a poem by Tobias Witmer, dated from the State of New York, June 1, 1869, printed in the 'Father Abraham' English newspaper, in roman type, and reprinted Feb. 18, 1870. The original spelling is that of Mr. Rauch, and is not reproduced. Dialectic words are spaced, and English words are here put in *italics*. The translation is rather free.

Geburts-Daak—An mei, Alti.  
Oo wass is schenner uf dar welt  
dass blimlin, root un weiss?  
un bloo un g<sup>e</sup>el,<sup>1</sup> im sröbel<sup>2</sup> felt  
wass sin sii doch so neis!  
Ich wees noch guut, in seller tseit  
hab ich niks liiwers duu,<sup>3</sup>  
dass in dii wisse—lang un breit  
so blimlin ksuucht wii duu.  
Doch iss es schun e lang-i tseit  
sid'r ich dart in dem felt,  
dii blimlin ksuucht, uf lang un breit,  
un uf dei, bussem kschappelt.  
D'r hent emool e gärtl kat—  
mei, schwesterli un duu; [schpaat  
ich hab a prieerd mit hak un  
dii blummnei, tsu duu,;  
un wuu ich hab im grossi schweel,  
dii kii dart hinne ksuucht,

Birthday—To my Wife.  
Oh what is finer in the world  
than flowerets red and white?  
and blue and yellow in the field  
how beautiful and bright.  
I know yet well that in that time,  
nought would I rather do,  
than in the meadows long and wide  
such flowerets seek as you.  
Yet it is quite a lengthened time,  
since I in yonder field,  
sought out the flowers far and wide,  
and on thy bosom pinned.  
You also had a garden bed—  
you and my sister fair,  
which I prepared with hoe and spade  
to set the flowers there;  
and where I in the ample vale<sup>4</sup>  
the cattle there had sought,

<sup>1</sup> G. gelb, Ohg. gelo, Swiss, etc., gäl *yellow*.

<sup>2</sup> Not PG. sröps, G. erbsen (peas), but a form of *erdbeere* (strawberry).

<sup>3</sup> G. Ich habe nichts lieber gethan. (G. adj. and adv. *lieber*, adverbialised with -s.) *Nothing would I rather have done.*

<sup>4</sup> The word is "schwæhl" in the original—probably borrowed from the local English word *swale*. Wuu, G. wo, *where*. The author was born in 1816, at Niagara, in a small colony which had emigrated from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania—his father in 1811. The colony received additions about the year 1830.

dii leedi-schlippere, weiss un g eel,  
hab ich mit, heem gebracht,  
un hab sii in sel gaertl plantat  
bei nacht, in muundes licht: [wantet<sup>1</sup>  
d'r h e n t s net gwist, bis juscht et  
h e n t diir s gegest a war mich.

the lady-slippers, gold, and pale,  
with me I homeward brought,  
and in that garden bed at night  
I set them when the moon was light.  
You did not know who it could be,  
but all at once you thought of me.

### § 2. PG. not Bavarian.

PG., Bavarian, Austrian and Suabian have the vowel of *fall*, and nasal vowels. In Pangkofer's *Gedichte in Altbayerischer Mundart*, are the PG. words 'aa' also; 'bissel' a little; 'ebbas,' G. etwas *something*; 'do is' *there is*; 'glei' (also Austrian) soon; 'sunst,' G. sonst *besides*; 'frumun,' G. fromm *kind*; 'kloo' *claw*; 'kumma,' G. gekommen *come*; Ohg. 'coman' and 'cuman' *to come*; 'mir' *we*, for G. wir; 'sel,' G. dasselbe *that-same*; but PG. has not 'mi' *me*; 'di' *thee*; 'hoarn' *horn*; 'hout' *has*; 'thuan' *to do*; 'g'spoasz,' *sport*; 'oamal' *once*; 'zwoa' *two*, G. zwei, PG. 'tswee'; wei, PG. 'weip' *wife*; zon, PG. 'tsum' *to the*.

The following example of upper Bavarian is given by Klein,<sup>2</sup> beside which a PG. version is placed for comparison.

"Schau, nachbe', wàs mei' freud' is,— Sii nochber wàs mei' freut iss !  
In suntæ', in der frûe, Am sundaak marrge frii,  
Gern hüs' i' in mei'n gäart'l Gærn hæer<sup>3</sup> ich in mei'm gærtli  
'n kircheläut'n zue. Dii kaerche-belle hii.<sup>4</sup>

"Dâ is 's so still und hâemli', Do 's iss so schtill un heemlich,  
Kâe' lärm, kâe g'schrâe kimmt 'nei': Kee, jacht, kee, kschrei kummt nei.;  
In'n himmi kâ's nit schöner Im himml kann s net sohee, ner  
W' as in mei'n gäart'l sei." Wii s in mei'm gærtli sei.

*See neighbor, what my joy is, on Sunday in the morn ; I listen in my garden, to the church-bell ring. Here it is so still and calm, no turmoil, no strife comes within ; in heaven (kann es nicht) it cannot be fairer than (es) it is in my little garden.*

<sup>1</sup> = *at once*. Dr. Jones, 1701, gives 'wæns, wænst' as the English pronunciation in Shropshire and some parts of Wales. Buchanan, 1766, gives 'wæns' as correct English.—A. J. Ellis.

<sup>2</sup> Die Sprache der Luxemburger. Luxembourg, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> This word varies to *heer*, and *horch* may be used.

<sup>4</sup> Here *hii*, is given for the rhyme, the proper word being G. *da*, PG. 'doo.' On this account the Rev. D. Ziegler makes the following variation on my version—

Sii noochber was mei, freut iss,  
Wann ich im gærtli schtee,  
Gærn heer ich frii am sundaak  
Dii kærchæbelle geh.

§ 3. PG. *not Suabian*.

The Pennsylvania Germans have traditional stories against the Suabians, although their population is in part derived from the upper (Pfalz) Palatinate; and some Suabians settled in Northumberland County, Pa., the evidence of which remains in the name of a stream, *Schwaben* (or *Swoope*) Creek.

PG. resembles Suabian in using ‘e, ee’ for ö, and ‘ii’ for ü—in the loss of infinitive -n,—in turning final -n into a nasal vowel (as in *sei*, for *seyn*), and in saying ‘du bischt,’ ‘du kannscht,’ etc. (for G. *du bist*), ‘du witt’ for *du willst*; ‘nimme’ for *nicht mehr*; ‘glei’ for *gleich* in the sense of *soon*—but the adjective ‘gleich’ (similar) remains. PG. does not turn o into au, as in Suabian ‘braut,’ ‘hauch,’ for *brot, hoch*; nor cut down G. *ich habe* to ‘i ha’; it does not add elements, as in ‘bois’ for G. *bös*, PG. ‘bees,’ ‘bluat’ for G. *blut*, ‘reacht’ for *recht*, ‘kuine’ for *keine*, and ‘*stuinige fealder*’ for *steinige felder*, a peculiarity of Suabian, Alsatian, Swiss, Bavarian and its kin Austrian. PG. has archaic ‘hees’ (hot) for G. *heiss*, but nothing like Bavarian *haas*.

Difference of pronunciation causes confusion of speech between speakers of different dialects, as shown by Dr. Rapp in his *Physiolōgie der Sprache*, 4, 131. In the ‘*Fliegende Blätter*’ (13, 158) there is a dialogue called ‘Ein Deutsch-Böhme’ (a German Bohemian), between a *Bauer* and a *Städter*—but a Swiss speaker is now added, with the rejoinder to his remark.

*Bauer.* Wie is de Suppe so häsz!

*Städter.* Man sagt ja nicht häsz, sondern heisz. Has [G. *hase*, PG. *haas* *hare*] nennt man das Thier. . . .

*Bauer.* Dös häszt bei uns Hös!

*Städter.* Das ist wieder falsch. Hös bedeutet jenes Kleidungsstück, womit Eure langen Beine bedeckt sind.

*Bauer.* Dös häszt Hus!

*Schweizer.* Aber mer sind jets im Huus.

*Bauer.* Dös iss 'n Haus!

Diminutives in PG. and Suabian are made with -li; both use ‘des’ for *das*, ‘uffm’ for *auf dem*, ‘biire’ for *birnen*, ‘g’hat’ or ‘kat’ for *gehabt*, ‘suu,’ for *sohn*, ‘schoof’ for *schäf*, ‘Schwop’ for *Schwäbe*, ‘als’ for *alles*, and ‘as’ for *als*.

§ 4. PG. *not Alsatian.*

In the very German county of Berks there is an Elsass township, which indicates an Alsatian influence. As a German province of France,<sup>1</sup> two languages are in use, and are taught in the schools, but the French is Germanised in pronunciation, as may be verified among the Alsatian and German servants of Paris. Being akin to Swiss and Suabian, PG. has some points in common with this dialect, without being influenced by French.

Alsatian differs from PG. in having *i haa* for 'ich hab,' *tsel* for 'sel' (G. *derselbe*), *bluet* for 'bluut,' *uess* for 'aus,' *hüs* for 'haus,' *tsiit* for 'tseit,' *bisch* for 'bicht,' *biim* for 'bei'm,' *morje* for 'marrghe.'

PG. and Alsatian turn some *b*-s to *w*, they have the vowels of *fall*, *what*, *up*, and have 'prowiire' for *probiren*, 'ass' for *als*, 'do' for *da*, 'joo' for *ja*, 'joor' for *jahr*, 'hoor' for *haar*, 'fun' for *von*, 'isch' for *ist*, 'jets' for *jetzt*, 'uff' for *auf*, 'druff' for *dorauf*, 'uff'm' for *auf dem*, 'raus' for *daraus*, 'draan' for *daran*, 'iwwer' for *über*, 'dno' for *darnach*; PG. 'effe,' Alsat. 'offe,' G. *ofen*; 'bal' for *bald*, 'm'r' for *wir*, 'm'r muss' for *man muss*, 'mee' for *mehr*, 'welli' for *welche*; 'was batt s' (what boots it).

The following lines (Radlof, 2, 110) are extracted from a piece of Alsatian which well illustrates the concurrent use of two languages. The French should be read in the German mode. Other French words occur in Radlof's examples, such as allong *allons*, tur *tour*, schalu *jaloux*, anterpoo *entrepôt*, bangenet *baïonnette*. The original of the following is in German (gothic) and French (roman) print according to the lan-

<sup>1</sup> This was written before the Franco-German war which re-annexed Alsatio to Germany. When I read out the first example in Chapter VIII. (*Wiider aa geschmirt*), to the Philological Society, on communicating this paper, 3 June, 1870, Dr. E. Mall, an Alsatian, who was present, remarked that it reminded him throughout of his native dialect, of which he thoroughly recognized the pronunciation. I may remark that I have never heard PG. pronounced, although I have heard Austrian, Saxon, Rhenish, Bavarian, and Swiss dialects, and read solely by the phonetic orthography here given.—*A. J. Ellis.*

guage, here imitated by roman and italic types. The speaker is telling a friend how she was addressed by a stranger:

So kummt ä Wälscher her, und macht mit Kumblemente,  
 Und redt mich gradzu an.—Mach er kein Spargemente,<sup>1</sup>  
 Hab i glich zu ihm g'sait. Losz Er, was ich 'ne bitt,  
 Mich mine Waih fortgeh'n; ich kenn de Herre nit.  
*,,Sans avoir, front er mich, l'honneur de vous connaître,*  
*,,Vous êtes seule ici, voulez-vous me permettre*  
*,,De vous offrir mon bras pour vous accompagner ?*  
*Allez, Mousié, sa ich, allez-vous promener,*  
*Und spar Er sich die müh; Er musz sich nit trumpire,*  
*Ichr bin von dene nit die mer am Arm kann fühere.<sup>2</sup>*  
*,,Vous êtes bien cruelle, arrêtez un moment,*  
*Sait er, und kummt soglich mit sine Santimang. . . .*  
*Zu diene, hab i g'sait; losz Er mich aber gehn,*  
*Min Ehr erlaubt mir nit noch länger do zu stehn.*  
*,,Je n'insisterai pas, mais veuillez bien m'apprendre,*  
*,,Si demain en ces lieux vous daignerez vous rendre.*  
*Behüt mich Gott davor ! i gib kein rendez-vus.*  
*Adié, mousié, adié, je ne vus [sic] verrai plus.*

*Translation.*—Thus comes a Frenchman up and proceeds with compliments, and (an-redet) accosts me (gerade zu) directly. Make no formalities,<sup>1</sup> I said to him at once. Let me, what I beg ('ne, G. ihn) him, continue (meinen weg) my way—I know not the (herren) gentlemen. "Without having," he (frägt) asked me, "*the honor of knowing you, you are alone here, will you permit me to offer you my arm to accompany you ?*" Go, sir, (sagte) said I, *Proceed with your walk*—and spare himself the trouble; he must not deceive himself, I am not of those who can be conducted on the arm.<sup>2</sup> "*You are very cruel, stay a moment,*" says he—and comes at once with his sentiment. . . . At your service, I said, he should let me go, my honor would not allow me to stand there longer. "*I do not insist, but will you kindly inform me, if to-morrow in these places you will deign to return.*" Preserve me heaven from it! I give no *rendez-vous*; adieu, sir, adieu, *I will not see you more.*

### § 5. PG. is akin to several South German Dialects.

Like *Suabia*, the name of *Pfalz* has disappeared from the map of Europe, and what was once the Lower Palatinate, is now to be looked for chiefly in Baden, Bavaria, and Darmstadt.

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Petri (*Handbuch der Fremdwörter*, 1845) explains *Spargiment* or *Spargement* as "ein ausgestreutes Gerücht, Ausgesprenge, Geträtsch oder Gerede; Aussprengsel," in short, *gossip* or *idle talk*, evidently from Latin *spargere*.—*A. J. Ellis.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare Goethe's *Faust*—

*Faust.* Mein schönes Fräulein, darf ich wagen,  
 Meinen Arm und Geleit Ihr anzutragen ?

*Margarete.* Bin weder Fräulein, weder schön,  
 Kann ungeleitet nach Hause gehn.—*A. J. E.*

It was partly bounded by Alsatia, Baden, and Würtemberg, and Manheim was the chief city. A few examples, condensed from Kobel, will show the nearness of its dialect to PG.

*So nehmst er dann desz Album desz uff 'm Tisch gelegt ia. So takes he then the album that is laid on the table. So is 'm glei' ei'gfalle'. So it soon happened to him. Guck emol, do is er, mer kenut 'n. Look once, here he is, one knows him. Wei is er dann do dran kumme? How then has he come? Desz will ich Ihne sage. That I will tell you. Mer hot nix mehr vun 'm g'hört. Nothing more has been heard of him. Mir habe [PG. mr hen] alls minanner 'gesse. We ate all together. Juscht am selle Tag is e' Gascht a'kumme. Precisely on that day a guest arrived. Mit eme finschtre' Gesicht. With a dark face. Sacha macha for die Leut. To make things for people. Bsunnerns especially; ghat had; dreibet thereby; schun already; sunscht nix besides nothing; drvun thereof; eens one; zwee two; keuns none; unner under; druff on; johr year; woehr true; kummt rei [PG. rei,] come in; ne no; jetz' now; gedenkt supposed; fras woman; kopp head; weesz knows; meeschter master; e' gut kind a good child.*

The South German dialect of Breisgau has G. *er hilft* (he helps, PG. *ær helft*), *g'seit* (as in Alsatia) for *gesagt*, PG. '*ksaat*,' *us* for G. and PG. '*aus*,' *i* for *ich*, *herrli* for *herrlich*, (PG. *hærrlich*), *wön* for *wollen*, *sit* (as in Alsatia) for *seit*, *aue* for *augen* (eyes, PG. *aughe*, Alsat. *auə*), *de* for *du*, *gen* for *gegeben* (given, PG. *gewwe*, sometimes suppressing *ge-*, to which attention has been called). Besides *gen*, the following Allemanic example (Radlof, 2, 99) contains *wore* for *geworden*, and *uskratzt* for *ausgekratzt*—

"Se han kurzwilt un Narrethei trieb, un am End isch der Hirt keck wore,  
un het em Mümmele e Schmützle gen, un se het em seldrum d'Aue nit uskratzt."

*They trifled and fooled, and finally the shepherd (ist keck geworden) became bold, and (hat gegeben) gave (dem) to the water nymph a kiss, and she did not (dasselbe darum) on-that-account ('em for ihm) scratch out his eyes.*

In the following examples, the Breisgauish and PG. are probably more nearly allied than might be supposed from a comparison of the spelling. The Alsatian and PG. are in the same alphabet.

<i>German.</i>	<i>Breisgau.</i>	<i>Alsace.</i>	<i>PG.</i>	<i>English.</i>
regenbogen,	regeboege,	räjbäu-e,	reeghēbooghe,	rainbow.
wo, von,	wu, vun,	wuu, fun,	wuu, fun,	where, of.
da, mal,	do, mol,	doo, mool,	doo, mool,	here, times.
schaf,	schof,	schoof,	schoof,	sheep.
schlafen,	schlofe,	schloofe,	schloofe,	to sleep.
und, gelt,	un, gel,	un, gel,	un, gel,	and, truly!
wohnen,	wuhne,	woone,	wuune,	to reside.
kommen,	kumme,	kumma,	kumma,	to come.
gesehen,	g'sehne,	g'sén,	kseenə,	seen.
jahr, auch,	johr, au,	joor, aa,	joor, aa,	year, also.
nachbar,	nochber,	nochber,	nochber,	neighbor.
nicht, nichts,	nit, nix,	net, nik,	net, nik,	not, nothing.
selbiger,	seller,	tseller,	seller,	that one.

<i>German.</i>	<i>Breisgau.</i>	<i>Aloace.</i>	<i>PG.</i>	<i>English.</i>
es ist jetzt,	's isch jetz,	es isch jets,	s isch jets,	it is now.
etwas,	ebbes,	eppas,	ebbas, eppas,	something.
nunmehr,	nummee,	(nimme),	nummi,	now.
darunter,	runter,	(nuntør),	runtar,	under.
als, einem,	aa, eme,	as, ema,	as, mæ,	as, to a.
man kann,	mer kann,	m'r kann,	mær kann,	one can.
sie haben,	sie hen, han,	sii haan,	sii hem,	they have.
wir sind,	mer sin,	m'r sin,	m'r sin,	we are.
weiszt,	wescht,	weischt,	weescht,	knowest.
das, hat,	des, het,	des, hot,	des, hat,	the, has.

In the next three lines of Breisgauish (Radlof, 2, 95) words which agree more or less with PG. are in italic—

“*Do isch au kei Plätzle meh,  
Wu i könnt mi Haupt<sup>1</sup> hinlege,  
Wenn i von der Arbeit geh.*”

Here is also no spot more,  
where I might my head repose,  
when I from my work depart.

The following (Radlof, 2, 92) is also in the Breisgau dialect:

Siehsch de, Kind, de Regeboge, . . .	Seest thou child the rainbow, . . .
Gel, das isch e Pracht vun Farbe, . . .	truly it is a glory of color, . . .
Nqeh het jetz mit de Sine	Noah has now with (the) his [people]
E Johannisfirle g'macht,	made a (midsummer) Johannes-fire <sup>2</sup>
Un in Herrlikeit un Pracht	and in splendor and glory
Isch der Herr debi erschine,	the Lord (dabei) therreat appeared,
Un zum Noeh het er g'sproche:	and to Noah has he spoken:
Guck, e Zeiche setz i fest,	Behold, a sign I firmly set [me,
Wil de Fride mit mer hest,	whilst thou (hast) keepst peace with
's Wort des hab i niemol broche	the word—that have I never broken
Un de Herr het's Wort au g'halte,	and the Lord has the word also kept,
Den der Regeboge steht,	for the rainbow stands
Wenn Gott au im Wetter geht,	whenever God goes in the tempest,
Un er loszt de Zorn nit walte.	and he (lässt) allows not (den) the [anger to rule].

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely PG., ‘kēp’ (G. *kopf*) being used.

<sup>2</sup> See Pulley's Etym. Compendium, 1853, at BONE-FIRES. [See also, Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 567-597, for fires generally, and pp. 583-593, for these Midsummer fires in particular.—A. J. Ellis.]

## CHAPTER VIII.

## EXAMPLES.

§ 1. *Wiider aa geschmiirt.*

¶ 1. Dass dii meed en wunnerbaarer schteff sin, wen [wann?] sii f'r menne ausgruke, wärd iir aa schun ausgefunne hawe. Sii sin so schlipperich wii en fischt, un wan m'r meent m'r hätt eens fescht, dan knabbert's schun an ner annere ang'l.

TRICKED AGAIN.—*That the maidens are a wondrous matter if they (ausgucken) look out for husbands (werdet Ihr) will you (auch) also have (schon) already discovered. They are as slippery as a fish, and when one supposes (subjunctive er hätte) he might-have one fast, (it nibbles) there is already nibbling at (einer andern) another hook.*

¶ 2. Ich hab eich do schun foor 'säm' tseit tarik f'rtseelt, wii ich mit d'r 'Hænne' ei,kumme bin, un was f'r 'kalkleesch'nss' dass ich gemacht hab f'r n 'schtoor' úftsusétsø an dem alti Schniipikl seiner kreits-schtross.

*I have recounted (euch) to you here 'some' time ago, how I paid attentions to 'Hannah,' and the 'calculations' that I made to set up [an English idiom] a 'store' at old Schniepickel's Crossroads.*

¶ 3. 'Well,' selli tseit hab ich mich bei d'r 'Hænne' wiischt aa,geschmiirt gefunne (kfunne), f'r ich hab gemeent, dass sii niemand sunscht 'gleiche,' un liiwer drei moonat lang gebrootene ratte fressø deet, wii an eenigher annerer kærl tsu denke—

*'Well,' that time I found myself badly<sup>1</sup> tricked with 'Hannah,' for I believed that she 'liked' nobody else, and (thät lieber fressen) would rather devour fried rats three months long, than to think on any other fellow;*

¶ 4. un dii 'seem' tseit hat sii dem 'Säm' Hinnerbee, 'kumpanii' gewwe, un tsu anneri ksaat, sii wett sich liiwer ufenke un

<sup>1</sup> A Swiss use of the G. wüst (waste, confused, wild).

d'r hals mit d'r hels-seeg apschneide, as so en alt 'gruihnarn' wii mich heiøe.

*and the 'same' time she gave 'Sam' Hinterbein 'company,' and said to others, she would rather hang herself and cut off the neck with the wood-saw (als) than to marry such an old greenhorn as me.*

¶ 5. Du kannscht diir denka, dass mich sel f'rtsernt hat un dass ich mei, 'plæns' weeghe schtoorhaltæ an dem kreitsweek pletslich ge-ennært hab.

*You can imagine to yourself that that (verzürnt) angered me, and that (plötzlich) suddenly I (habe geändert) changed my plans about storekeeping at the Crossway.*

¶ 6. Ich hab mich dann en bissl rúmgegúkt un gefünne dass drewæ an d'r 'Passæm krik' en 'neisi opning' f'r n tichtigher 'schmærter' kærl wii ich eener bin, wær.

*I then looked me (ein biszchen herum) a little round and (gefunden) found that (droben) up on 'Possum creek' was a 'nice opening' for a (tückig tight) capable 'smart' fellow, as I am one.*

¶ 7. Dart am ek wuunt d'r alt 'Eeb' Windbeisser uf m groosi schtik land ; dem sei, 'Meeri' het m'r 'ebaut' aa,kschtanne, un allæs sunscht dart rum het m'r recht guut gefällæ (kfallæ), juscht het dii 'Meeri' so gaar eewich fiil schweschter un briider, dass als kee, plats f'r uns tswee im haus waar, un in dii scheir geee musste, wann m'r mit en-annør schwetsæ wette.

*There on the corner lives old 'Abe' Windbeisser on a large piece (of) land ; whose 'Mary about' pleased me, and all (sonst dort herum) besides there-about pleased me right well, only Mary had (gar ewig so viel) quite ever so many sisters and brothers, that (there) was always no place for us two in the house, and (we) must go in the barn when we would speak with oneanother.*

¶ 8. Sell het m'r 'ef-koors' net so árik aa,kschtanne, awer (aawer) dii Meeri het gemeent des wær nik's, m'r miset sich ewwe tsu helfe wisse.

*That 'of-course' was not so very agreeable to me, but Mary considered that to be nothing ; one must know (eben) exactly how to help one's self.*

¶ 9. En tseit lang iss 'nau' alles guut gangæ, mein'i 'kælke-leeschenss' waare wiider 'reddi' un dii Meeri hat mir tsu f'rachteeæ gewwe, dass ich eeniche tseit mit iirøm daadi schwetsæ un dann d'r parrø [and parro] beschtælle kennt.

(For) some time 'now' all went well, my 'calculations' were again 'ready,' and Mary had given me to understand that any time I could speak with her (Swiss dädi) father, and then engage the minister.

¶ 10. 'Well,' d'r neekscht sundaak, ich hab iim ksaat dass ich un sei, Meeri unsər meind ufgemacht hätte tsu heiərə, un froog iin ep aer eenich eppes [or ebbæ] dageeghə hätt. Nee,, secht är, ich hab nik's dageeghə, aawer hescht du dann dii 'Mændə' heit kseene?

'Well' the next Sunday I told him that I and his Mary had (English idiom) made up our 'mind' to marry, and asked him (ob) if he had (einiges etwas) any(some)thing there-against. No, (sagt, for G. sagte) said he, I have nothing against it—but have you seen 'Amanda' today?

¶ 11. "Iir hen mich lets f'rschtanne," saag ich, "ich will dii Meeri heiərə, net dii Mændə." (Da muscht wisse, dii Mændə iss 'ebaut' seks joor elter wiil dii Meeri un net neekscht soo guutgukich.)

"You have understood me [Swiss and SG. jetzt] wrongly," say I, "I wish to marry 'Mary' and not 'Amanda'." (You must know, 'Amanda' is 'about' six years older than 'Mary,' and not (next) near so goodlooking.)

¶ 12. "Joo, ich hab dich recht guut f'rschtanne, aawer du bischt noch net 'ufgepooscht.' Geschter marighə iss dii Mændə nooch 'Hen' Greifdaalərs 'schtoor' un hət sich eppes kaaft—'Griischən' Bender glaab ich heescht sii des ding.

"Yes, I have understood you right well, but you are not yet 'posted' up. Yesterday morning 'Amanda' went to 'Hen' Gripedollar's 'store' and bought herself something—'Grecian' Bend (pun on bend and bänder, ribbons,) I believe she calls the thing.

¶ 13. "Wii dii Meeri sel geseena (or kseenə) hət, wərd sii gans (or gants) närrisch dofoor', un fangt aa, mit d'r Mændə tsu handle, weil d'r 'schtoorkiiper' juscht dii eéntsighə maschiin' katt hət.

When Mary saw it she becomes quite silly (dafür) for it, and begins to bargain with Amanda, as the 'storekeeper' (hat gehabt) had but the single machine.

¶ 14. "Well, sii sin net eenich [geworden] warre bis geeghə oowət, un dann hen sii 'egriid,' das dii Meeri dich tsu d'r Mændə ufgeht, un dii Meeri dii Griischən Bender kriikt!"

*"Well, they were not (einig) in accord till (gegen abend) towards evening, and then they 'agreed' that Mary would give you up to Amanda, and she should get the Grecian Bond."*

¶ 15. F'reschwappt? Mich uf den 'Griisch'en Bender 'f'reschwappt,' oone mich ærscht tsu frooghe?!

*'Swapped'! Me 'swapped' on the Grecian Bond, (ohne mich erst zu fragen) without first asking me?!*

¶ 16. "So schteet s 'nau,' dii Mænde is drunne im kuuschtall, wann du fileicht ærscht mit iir dørweegho schwetse witt."

*"So stands it 'now,' Amanda is (darunter) down there at the stable, if you perhaps (willst) will first speak with her about it."*

¶ 17. Ich? mit iir dørweeghe schwetse? Iss gaar net noot-wennich! Wann mich deini meed kaafø, f'rkaafø un f'reschwappo kennø, dann solle sii aa seena, dass sii mich kriighe. 'Guntbei.'

*I? speak with her about it? (It) is quite unnecessary. If your girls (können kaufen) can buy, sell, and 'swap' me, then (sollen sie auch sehen) shall they also see that they get me. 'Goodby.'*

¶ 18. Ich wees net was dii Windbeisser meed<sup>1</sup> mit un oone Griisch'en Bender fun miir denke, aawer was ieh fun iiñe denk wees ich, wærd diir s aawer 'ennihau' net saaghe.

*I know not what the Windbeisser girls with and without Grecian Bend think of me, (aber ich weiss) but I know what I think of them—but will 'anyhow' not tell it to you.*

¶ 19. 'Nau' hab ich im sinn noch eé, mool<sup>2</sup> tsu prowiire, sobál ich n 'tschænss' ausfinn, un wann m'r s aa dann net glikt, geb ich s uf un wærd en alter 'bætschelø.'

*I now have in mind (zu probiren) to try yet (einmal) once, as soon as I find out a 'chance,' and if it also prospers not then with me, I will give it up and be an old 'bachelor.'*

## § 2. *Wii kummt ðe?*

¶ 1. Ich lees eiør tseitung 'reglør' alli woch, un weil ich als fart so fiil nei-ichkeit'n drin lees, do bin ich schun oft (eft) uf dii 'nosch'n' [gekommen] kumme iir [müssset] misst alles wisse.

<sup>1</sup> This 'meed' is singular and plural, but the singular is more commonly meedl, SG. maidle, G. mädcchen. It differs from maad (sing. and pl. G. magd), a female servant.

<sup>2</sup> Being emphasised, the accent is on the first syllable, while in 'emool' (below § 2, ¶ 3) it is on the second.

<sup>3</sup> Condensed and transliterated from the (German) *Bucks County Express*, Doylestown, Pa. July 20, 1869.

*How comes it? I read (euer) your journal 'regular' every week, and as I constantly read so many novelties in it, (da then) have I indeed often come to the 'notion' you must know everything.*

¶ 2. Wann epper sich ufhengt, eder heiært, eder eppes schteelt, eder gærn en guuti 'affis' hætt, eder in dii 'tscheel' kummt, eder sich n fing-er apschneidt, eder sei, 'plats' f'rkaaft, eder n hinkl schteelt, eder 'guuf'rniir' wærre will, eder im 'gætter' kfunne wært, eder seimi tseitung net betsaalt, dann kann m'r sich druf f'rlassen, dass es in dii tseitung kummt.

*If (Swiss epper, masc. of G. etwas,) anyone hangs himself, or marries, or steals (G. etwas) anything, or would like to have a good 'office,' or gets into 'jail,' or cuts himself a finger off, or sells his 'place' (or farm), or steals a chicken, or wishes to become 'governor,' or is [gefunden] found in the 'gutter,' or does not pay for his journal, then one can depend upon it that it gets into the newspaper.*

¶ 3. Ich bin en alter bauer un f'rschtee net fiil, un weil iir alles tsu wissa scheint, doo will ich eich emoöl en paar sache frooghe, dii ich gærn wisse deet.

*I am an old farmer and do not understand much, and as you seem to understand everything, I will here ask you once several things, which I would like to know.*

¶ 4. Wii kummt es, dass dii jung-i bauerebuuwæ graad brillæn un sohtæk traaghe misse, wann sii in dii 'kallitsch' [geschickt werden] kschikt wærre? Ich hab als gemeent ich wollt mei, 'Sæm' aa in dii 'kallitsch' schikæ, aawær wann dii leit graad schleichti aaghæ krighæ un laam wærre, dann behalt ich mei, 'Sæm' liiwer dæheem un lærn iin selwer als oowets.

*How comes it, that the young farmer-boys must immediately carry spectacles and (stöcke) sticks when they are sent to 'college'? I have hitherto thought I would send my 'Sam.' to 'college,' but if people immediately get bad eyes and become lame, I will rather keep him at home and teach him myself of evenings.*

¶ 5. Wii kummt es, dass deel weipsleit in eiræm .iisten (Easton) soo aarm [sein wollen] sei, wellæ un doch soo lang-i frackschwents uf 'm 'peefment' noochschleefæ? [Werden] wærre<sup>1</sup> selli weipsleit betsaalt f'r s 'peefment' [sauber] sauwer tsu halte, eder wii [können] kennæ sii 'affoordæ' soo aa, tsugeeæ?

*How comes it, that (theil) part (of the) women in your Easton (sein wollen) pretend to be so poor, and yet (nach-schleifen) drag along*

<sup>1</sup> G. worden becomes 'warre.' See § 1, ¶ 14.

*such long frock (schwänze) tails on the 'pavement'? Will those women be paid for keeping the 'pavement' clean, else how can they 'afford' to proceed thus?*

¶ 6. *Wii kummt es, dass dii jung-i buuwé selli meed, woo reichi, daadis [Swiss dädi] hen, liiwer noochschpringe als dii aarmi? Gukt sel net als wii wann aii meer uum s geld gewwe [thäten] deeta als wii uum dii meed? Wann ich en meedl wär un hätt so en 'boo,' dann deet ich iin mit d'r feiertsang fartschtewere.*

*How comes it, that the young men (lieber nachspringen) sooner run after those girls who have rich [the plural -s is English] fathers, than the poor ones? Looks it not just as if they would give more for the money than for the maid? If I were a girl and had such a 'beau,' (then) I would [stöbern, ö long] drive him forth with the fire-tongs.*

¶ 7. *Wii kummt es, dass n deel jung-i leit nimmi deitsch leese un schwetsé kenne, wann sii mool 'jes' un 'noo' saaghe kenne? Meim [dative for genitive] nochbör, dem Maardi Halsbendl sei, eltest'r [sohn] suu, dær so deitsch waar wii saurkraut des schun siwwé mool ufgwärmt iss, waar kærtlich emool in d'r schtatt, un wii ær wiid'r heem kumme iss, do waar ær so eng-lisch, dass ær schiir gaar nimmi mit seim daadi un mammi schwetse kann. Sii sin 'nau' arik im 'truw'l' un sei, daadi meent, sii misst'n iin naus nooch Kniphaus'n schikke, f'r iin wiid'r (widr) deitech tsu mache.*

*How comes it that some young people are no longer able to read and speak German if they only know how to say 'yes' and 'no'? The eldest son of my neighbor Martin Neckband, who was as Dutch as sourcrout which has been warmed up seven times, was once recently a week in town, and when he had returned home again, there was he so English that he could scarcely speak anymore with his father and mother. They are 'now' greatly in 'trouble,' and his father thinks they must send him out to Kniphausen to make him German again.*

¶ 8. *Wie kummt es, dass dii aarmi leit geweenlich dii meerschten hund un katse hen? Do bei uns wuunt n famflje, dii als bettele muss, un dii fiir groose hund un siwwé katse hét. Sii selwer saaghe, sii misst'n so fiil hund hawé f'r dii diib apsuhalte.<sup>1</sup>*

*How comes it, that poor people (gewöhnlich haben) commonly have the most dogs and cats? Here near us lives a family which must always beg, and which has four large dogs and seven cats. They themselves say, they (müszen haben) were obliged to have so many dogs to keep away the thieves.*

<sup>1</sup> Condensed from the (German) *Correspondent & Demokrat*, Easton, Pa., Aug. 25, 1869.

## § 3.

*Will widd'r Biweli<sup>1</sup> sei.*

## ¶ 1.

.es reeghert heit, mr kann net naus  
un s iss so 'loonsen' doo im haus ;  
mr wees net wii mr fiilt.  
ich will mool duu, als wæær ich klee,  
un uf d'r ewerscht schpeicher gee,  
dart hab ich uftmoools kschiilt.

## ¶ 2.

.en biwli bin ich widder jets,  
wu sin mei, k ruts e un mei, klets ?  
nau weert n haus gebant !  
es schpiilt sich doch net guut alée,—  
ich bin joo doch kee, biwli mee !  
was kluppt mei, hært so laut !

## ¶ 3.

Harrich ! was 'n wunnerbaare sach !  
d'r reeghe rappit uf 'm dach  
gaar nimm'i wii sær het !  
ich hab 's als kæært mit leichtem hært,  
nau gepts m'r arik heemwee schmaerts,  
kennt heile wan ich wet.

## ¶ 5.

Des schpiiile geet net, sel ich fart ?  
was iss uf selli balka dart ?  
'nau' bin ich widder buu !  
dart hen m'r keschta ausgeschtreit,  
tsu daerre uf dii Krischdaak tseit—  
deet 's gleiche widder duu !

## ¶ 6.

.en biwli sei,—sell iss d'r wært—  
dii keschta 'rooschts' uf d'r hært—  
was het des als gekracht !  
Sell iss forbei. Ich fiill 's im gmiid,  
es schpiilt 'n rechtes heemwee liid,  
d'r reeghe uf 'm dach !

## ¶ 7.

Dortscheet dii 'seem' alt walnus kischta,  
ich wunner 'nau' was dart drin isoh ?  
's muss eppes 'bartich sei.'  
Kalléner, tseitung, bicher—hoo !  
dii alti sache hen sii doo  
all summerscht-sewerscht<sup>2</sup> nei..

*Will be a Boy again.*

## 1.

It rains to-day, one cannot out,  
and t is so 'lonesome' in the house ;  
one knows not how one feels,  
I will once do as were I small  
and in the highest garret go—  
there have I oftentimes played.

## 2.

An urchin am I now again,  
where are my corn-cobs and my blocks ?  
'now' will house be built !  
one plays indeed not well alone—  
I am in fact no urchin more !  
my heart how loud it beats !

## 3.

And hark ! how wonderful it is !  
the rain now rattles on the roof  
no more as it once did !  
I heard it once with buoyant heart,  
but now it gives a home-sick smart,  
I could weep if I would.

## 5.

The play succeeds not, shall I forth ?  
what is upon that timber there ?  
'now' I 'm a boy again !  
there did we spread the chestnuts out  
to have them dry for Christmas time—  
would 'like' to do t again !

## 6.

To be a boy—that is worth while—  
to 'roast' the chestnuts on the harth—  
what crackling that produced !  
t is gone—I feel that in my soul  
it plays a real home-sick tune—  
the rain upon the roof !

## 7.

There stands the 'same' old walnut chist  
I wonder 'now' what may be in t,  
it must be something (abartig) rare.  
Books—calendars—newspapers—oh  
the olden objects have we here  
all upside down within.

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of the original is 'Buwelle,' without the *umlaut*, which others use. The original has 'owerscht' in the fifth line, but the *umlaut* is in use, and seems to be required, as in Bavarian. For notes <sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> see next page.

## ¶ 8.

'Nau' bin ich aawer recht en buu,  
weil ich do widder seene duu  
des alt bekannts sach.  
Harrich! haesserscht d'r reeghe! 'Jes  
indiid'—  
er schpiilt en rechtes heemwee liid  
dart oowe uf 'm dach!

## ¶ 13.

Sii henke net am balke mee  
dii bindle fun dem kreiter tee,  
un allerlee gewärt;  
'nau' will ich widder biuwli sei,—  
ich hool sii f'r dii mammi rei,—  
sell 'pliist' mei, biuwli hært.<sup>4</sup>

— HARBAUGH.

## 8.

But 'now' I truly am a boy  
because I now again behold  
this old familiar thing.  
Hark! Hearst the rain! 'Yes, yes  
indeed,'  
it plays a proper home-sick air  
up there upon the roof!

## 13.

They hang not on the cross-beams more  
the bundles of botanic tea,  
and every kind of root;  
'now' I will be a boy again  
and for my mother bring them in—  
that 'pleased' my boyish heart.

<sup>3</sup> G. gemüth.

<sup>3</sup> G. das unterste zu oberst (topsy-turvy). Compare PG. 'hinnärscht-feddärscht' (wrong end foremost).

<sup>4</sup> Transliterated extract from a longer poem in the *Father Abraham*, Lancaster, Pa. Feb. 1869.

§ 4. *Anglicised German.*

The following factitious example, full of English words and idioms, is from a New York German newspaper, and purports to be written by a German resident in America. The spelling recalls the name HEYFLETER over a stall in the stables of the King of Wurtemberg. The writer of the letter spells his name in three ways, instead of 'Schweineberger,' as given in the tale.

Landkälder, Penfilvenia, North-Amerika, 32. Dezr. 52.

Dheire Mudder!—Du Würft es nit begreife kenne, alſz ich dort week bin, hawen alle Leit gefacht, der Hannes werrd nit gud ausmache, das ich jetzt so gut ab binn. Awer, well, jetzt g'hör ich zu de Tschentel-Leit in unfre Zitti unn eeniger Männ, wo in Iurop en werri fein Männ is, dhät lachche, bikahs er gleichte so gut auszumache, als der John Swinebarker.

Ofschon, ich unterſtehe des Büſſeneff besser as die andre Dotschmann, wo eweri Teim so schlecht edſchukädet bleibe, as fe in Iurop ware; Wer hier gleicht, gud auszumache, muſz sich zu de amerikanische Tschentel-Leit halte, wo eweri Männ Something lerne kann.

Du kannſt auch zu mein dheires Eliänorche fage, das es kommen kann; fie kann der hohl Däy im Rockel-Schär fitze, ich ſend hir inkluded fixtig Dollars, mit das kann fie über Liwerpuhl und Nujork zu mich komme, und verbleibe Dein moſt zänkvoll Son John Swineberger.

Bofchkippt: Du muſt die Monni for des Bordo auslege; ich will ſend es Dir mit dem nächſte Letter. John Schweinebärker.

## CHAPTER IX.

## ENGLISH INFLUENCED BY GERMAN.

§ 1. *German Words introduced.*

If the Germans of Pennsylvania adopted many words from English, the English speaking population applied the appellation of *German* or *Dutch* to unfamiliar varieties of objects, such as a *Dutch cheese*, a *German lock*; or they adopted the original names, as in calling a form of curds *smearcase* (G. schmierkäse) in the markets and prices current. German forms of food have furnished the vicinal English with *sourcroust*, *mush*, *shtreisslers*, *bretzels*, *fawstnachts*,<sup>1</sup> *tseegercase*, *knep* (G. Knöpfe, the *k* usually pronounced), *bower-knep*, *noodles*; and in some of the interior markets, endive must be asked for under the name of ‘æntiifi,’ even when speaking English. Dutch gives *crollers*, but *stoop* (of a house) is hardly known. In English conversation one may hear expressions like “He belongs to the *freindschaft*” (he is a kinsman or relation); “It makes me *greisslich* to see an animal killed” (makes me shudder and revolt with disgust—turns my stomach). A strong word without an English equivalent.

The German idiom of using *einmal* (once) as an expletive, is common, as in “Bring me a chair once,” and when a person whose vernacular is English says, “I am through another” (I am confused), he is using a translation of the German *durch einander*, PG. ‘dárich enánnar.’ Of such introduced words, the following deserve mention.

**Metsel-soup**, originally pudding broth, the butcher’s perquisite, but subsequently applied to a gratuity from the animals he has slaughtered.

<sup>1</sup> Shrove-tide cakes—with the PG. pronunciation, except *st.*

**Shinner**, G. schinder (a knacker,<sup>1</sup>) an objurgatory epithet applied by butchers to farmers who compete with them in the market.

**Speck**, the flitch of salt bacon, particularly when boiled with sour-crout, hence, ‘speck and sourcrout.’

**Tsitterly**, calf’s-foot jelly.

**Hartley**, a hurdle for drying fruit.

**Snits**, a smit (G. schnitz, a cut), a longitudinal section of fruit, particularly apples, and when dried for the kitchen. The term is in use in districts where German is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

**Hootale**, PG. hutsal, G. hotzel, a dried fruit; Bavar. and Suab. hutzel, a dried pear. In Pennsylvania, a peach dried without removing the stone.

**Dumb** (G. dumm) is much used for *stupid*.

**Fockle** (G. fackel), a fisherman’s torch.

**Mother** (PG. from G. mutter-weh, not parturition, but) a hysterical rising in the throat. The word occurs in old and provincial English.<sup>3</sup>

**Chipmunk**, a ground-squirrel (*Tamias*); *chip* probably from its cry, and Swiss *munk*, a marmot.

**Spook** (G. Spuk), a spectre; and the verb, as—“It spooks there,” “The grave-yard spooks.”

**Christkintly** (PG. Krischtkintli, G. Christ Kindlein), the Christ Child who is supposed to load the Christmas trees and bring presents at Christmas. Perverted in the Philadelphia newspapers to *Kriss Kringle*, *Kriss Kingle*, and *Kriss Kinkle*.

**Christmas-tree**, a well-known word for a well-known and much used object, but absent from the American dictionaries.

**Bellsnickle**, PG. beltsnikkl (G. *Pels* a pelt, skin with hair, as a bear-skin, here used as a disguise, and perhaps associated with *peltzen*, to pelt,) and *Nickel*, *Nix*, in the sense of a demon. (Suab. Pelzmärte, as if based on *Martin*). A masked and hideously disguised person, who goes from house to house on Christmas Eve, beating (or pretending to beat) the children and servants, and throwing down nuts and cakes before leaving. A noisy party

<sup>1</sup> G. Knochen (bones).

<sup>2</sup> A teacher asked a class—If I were to cut an apple in two, what would you call one of the pieces? “A half.” And in four? “A fourth.” And if I cut it in eight equal pieces, what would one of them be? “A smit!”

<sup>3</sup> Compare—O, how this mother swells up toward my heart!

Hysterica passio, thou climbing sorrow,  
Thy element’s below.—*King Lear*, act 2, sc. 4, speech 20, v. 54.  
—A. J. Ellis.

accompanies him, often with a *bell*, which has influenced the English name.

These, I suppose, were Christmas mummers, though I heard them called "Bell-schnickel."—*Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1869, p. 484.

**Gounsh**, n. and v.i. As to *seesaw* implies reciprocal motion, so to *gounsh* is to move up and down, as upon the free end of an elastic board. PG. 'Kumm, mr wella gaunscha.' (Come, let us gounsh.) Suab. *gautschen*; Eng. to *jounce*.<sup>1</sup>

**Hoopsisaw** (PG. *húppsisaa*, also provincial German). A rustic or low dance, and a lively tune adapted to it. Inferior lively music is sometimes called 'hoopsisaw music,' 'a hoopsisaw tune.'<sup>2</sup>

**Hoove**, v.i. a command to a horse to back, and used by extension as in "The men hooved (demurred) when required to do more work." Used in both senses in the Swiss *hüfen*, imperative *huf!* and Schmeller (*Bayr. Wörterb.* 2, 160) gives it as Bavarian.

**Hussling-**, or **Hustling-match**, PG. *hossl-mätsch* (with English *match*), a raffle. From the root of *hustle*, the game being conducted by shaking coins in a hat and counting the resulting heads.

**Sock up**, "to make a man sock up," pay a debt, produce his *sack* or pouch. This is uncertain, because, were a PG. expression to occur like "Du muscht ufsakke" (you must sock up), it might be borrowed from English.

**Boof**, peach brandy. In Westerwaldish, *buff* is water-cider,—cider made by wetting the pomace and pressing it a second time.

**Sots**, n. sing. G. *satz*, home-made 'yeast' as distinguished from 'brewer's-east.'

**Sandman**, "The sandman is coming,"—said when children get sleepy about bedtime and indicate it by rubbing the eyes. Used thus in Westerwald and Suabia.<sup>3</sup> Children are warned against touching dirt by the exclamation (*bæetschi*).

**Snoot**, for snout, a widespread teutonic form.

<sup>1</sup> The German word appears to be *gautschen* without the *n*. So Schmeller (*Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, 2, 87) "gautschen, getschen, schwanken, schaukeln." Adelung (*Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, 2, 439) explains it as a technical paper-maker's word for taking the sheets out of the mould and laying them upon the press-board, *Gautschbret*. He adds that a carrying chair was formerly called a *Gautsche*, and refers it to *Kutsche* and French *coucher*.—A. J. E.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Papageno's song in Mozart's *Zauberföte*:

Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja  
Stets lustig, heisa, hopasa.—A. J. Ellis.

<sup>3</sup> Known probably throughout England. Known to me, a Londoner, from earliest childhood.—A. J. Ellis.

### § 2. Family Names Modified.

With several concurrent languages, the deterioration of names is an obvious process. Among the mixed population of Baltimore, the name 'Bradley' is to a Frenchman *Bras-delong*; for 'Strawberry' (alley) and 'Havre-de-grâce' (in Maryland) the Germans say *Strubbel*, and *Hasel-im-gras*; and the Irish make the following changes—

Carron (French)	<i>Scarron</i>	Schöffeler	<i>Scofield</i>
Coquerelle	<i>Corcoran</i>	van Dendriessche	<i>Driscoll</i>
de Vries	<i>Freezer</i>	van Emstede	<i>Hampsted</i>
Giesen	<i>Gleason</i>	Winsierski	<i>Winchester</i>
Grimm	<i>Grimes</i>	Fayette Street	<i>Faith St.</i>
Henning	<i>Hannon</i>	Alice Ann St.	<i>Alexander St.</i>
Rosier	<i>Rosetree</i>	Happy Alley	<i>Apple Alley</i>

A German with a name which could not be appreciated, was called *John Waterhouse* because he attended a railroad tank—a name which he adopted and placed upon his sign when he subsequently opened a small shop. A German family became ostensibly Irish by preferring the sonant phase of their initial—calling and writing themselves *Grady* instead of *Krady*; a name 'Leuter' became *Lander*; 'Amweg' was tried a while as *Amwake* and then resumed; and in a family record, the name 'George' is given as *Schorts*. A postoffice 'Chickis' (Chikiswalungo—place where crayfish burrow) received a letter directed to *Schickgets*, another *Schickens Laenghaester Caunte*, and 'Berks County' has been spelled *Burgix Caunte*.<sup>1</sup>

The following German and Anglicised forms may be compared,—

Albrecht	<i>Albright</i>	Frey (free)	<i>Fry</i>
Bachman	<i>Baughman</i>	Fruauf	<i>Freeauf</i>
Becker	<i>Baker, Pecker</i>	Fuz (foot)	<i>Feeze</i>
Dock	<i>Duck</i>	Geisz (goat)	<i>Gise</i>
Eberhardt	<i>Everhart</i>	Gerber	<i>Garber</i>
Eberle	<i>Everly</i>	Giebel	<i>Gibble</i>
Eckel	<i>Eagle</i>	Gräff	<i>Graff, -o, -ae</i>
Ego <sup>2</sup>	<i>Hagy?</i>	Guth	<i>Good, Goot</i>
Ewald	<i>Ewalt</i>	Haldeman	<i>Holderman</i> <sup>3</sup>
Fehr	<i>Fair</i>	Herberger	<i>Harberger</i>

<sup>1</sup> The geographical names at the close of Chapter I. p. 6, are Kentucky, Safe Harbor, Syracuse, and Pinegrove. The drugs are aloes (pronounced as in Latin!), paregoric, citrine ointment, acetic acid, hiera picra, cinnamon, Guiana pepper, gentian, cinchona, opium, hive syrup, senna and manna mixed, sulphate of zinc, corrosive sublimate, red precipitate, aniline, logwood, Epsom salts, magnesia, cordial, cubeba, bichromate of potash, valerian (G. Baldrian), laurel berries, cochineal.

<sup>2</sup> Rhymes plagney, even in English localities.

<sup>3</sup> As if from the plant *elder*, instead of Swiss halde, a steep or declivity—the name being *Swiss*.

Hinkel	<i>Hinkle</i>	Pfautz	<i>Fouts, Pouts</i>
Hofman	<i>Hoofman</i>	Pfeiffer	<i>Pyfer</i>
Huber	<i>Hoover</i>	Reif (ripe)	<i>Rife</i>
Kaufman	<i>Coffman</i>	Reisinger	<i>Riesinger</i>
Kaufroth	<i>Cuffroot</i>	Riehm	<i>Ream</i>
Kehler	<i>Kaylor</i>	Roth (red)	<i>Roath, Rote</i>
Kochenauer	<i>Goughnour</i>	Ruth	<i>Root</i>
Koick	<i>Cowhawk</i>	Schellenberger	<i>Shallyberger</i> <sup>1</sup>
Krauskopf	<i>Krosskopf</i>	Schenk	<i>Shank</i>
Kreider	<i>Crider</i>	Scheuerman	<i>Shireman</i>
Kreybil	<i>Graypeel</i>	Schnebele	<i>Snavely</i>
Kühnlein	<i>Coonly, -ley</i>	Schneider	<i>Snyder, Snider</i>
Kutz	<i>Kutts</i>	Seip	<i>Sype, Sipe</i>
Leitner	<i>Lightner</i>	Seipel	<i>Seiple, Sible</i>
Leybach	<i>Libough</i>	Seitz	<i>Sides</i>
Mayer	<i>Moyer</i>	Senz	<i>Sense</i>
Meyer	<i>Mire</i>	Spraul	<i>Sprowl</i>
Mosser	<i>Musser</i>	Stambach	<i>Stambough</i>
Mosseman	<i>Musselman</i>	Strein	<i>Strine</i>
Neumeyer	<i>Narmire?</i>	Valentin	<i>Feltz</i>
Noll	<i>Null</i>	WeltzhuBer	<i>Beltzhoov</i> <sup>2</sup>
Nüssli	<i>Nicely, Nissly</i>	Wetter	<i>Fetter</i>
Oberholtzer	<i>Overholser</i>	Wild	<i>Wilt</i>

So ‘Schleyermacher’ passed thro *Slaremaker* to *Slaymaker*; and by a similar process, farther changes may take place, like *Mutsch* to *Much*, *Bertsch* to *Birch*, *Brein* to *Brine*, *Schutt* to *Shoot* or *Shut*, *Rüppel* to *Ripple*, *Knade* (*gnade grace*) to *Noddy*, *Buch* to *Book*, *Stahr* to *Star*, *Fing-er* to *Fin-ger*, *Melling-er* to *Mellin-jer*, *Stilling-er*<sup>3</sup> to *Stillin-jer*, *Cōver* to *Cōver*, *Fuhrman* to *Foreman*, *Rohring*<sup>4</sup> to *Roaring*, *Gehman* to *Gayman*.

Names are sometimes translated, as in *Stoneroad* for ‘*Steinweg*,’ *Carpenter* for both ‘*Schreiner*’ and ‘*Zimmermann*,’ and both *Short* and *Little* for ‘*Kurz*’ or ‘*Curtius*.’

Part of a name may be anglicised, as in *Finkbine*, *Espen-shade*, *Trautwine*—where the first syllable has the German sound. *Fentzmaker* is probably a condensation of *Fenstermacher*.

It is remarkable that speakers of German often use English forms of baptismal names, as *Mary* for *Maria*, *Henry* for

<sup>1</sup> And *Shellabarger*, American Minister to Portugal, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> The ‘b’ and ‘v’ of the two forms have changed place.

<sup>3</sup> These names, with *Rauch*, *Bucher*, the Scotch *Cochran*, etc., are still pronounced correctly in English speaking localities in Pennsylvania; and at Harrisburg, ‘*Salade*’ rhymes *holiday*.

<sup>4</sup> The organists *Thunder* and *Rohr* gave a concert in Philadelphia some years ago. In New York I have seen the names ‘*Stone* and *Flint*,’ and ‘*Lay* and *Hatch*,’ where the proper name takes precedence.

Heinrich, and *John* (tschan, shorter than the medial English sound) for *Johannes*.<sup>1</sup>

Of curious family names without regard to language, the following may be recorded—premising that proper names are especially subject to be made spurious by the accidents of typography.<sup>2</sup>

Ahl, Awl, Ammon, Annč, Barndollar, Baud, Bezoar, Bigging, Blades, Bohrer, Boring, Book, Bracken, Bricker (bridgor), Buckwalter, Burkholder and Burchhalter (burg-holder), Byler, Candle, Candour, Care, Case, Channell, Chronister, Condit, Coohier, Cumberbus (Smith's *Voyage to Guinea*, 1744), Curgus or Cirous, Dehoof, Dialogue, Ditto, Dosh, Eave, Eldridge (in part for Hildreth), Erb, Eyde, Eyesore (at Lancaster, Pa.), Fassnacht (G. fastnacht *shrovetide*), Feather, Ferry (for the Walloon name Ferree<sup>3</sup>); Friday, Fornaux, Furnace, Gans (*goose*, Gansert, Gensemter, Grossgensly), Gift (poison), Ginder, Gruel, Gutmann (good-man) Hag (hedge), Harmony, Hector, Hepting, Herd, Heard, Hergelrat (rath counsel), Hinderer, Hook, Holzhauer and Holzhower (woodchopper), Honnafuzz (G. hahn a cock), Kash, Kitch, Koffer, Landtart, Lawer, Leis, Letz, Licht, Line, Lipp, Laeb (lion), Laewr (at St. Louis), Mackrel, Manusmith, Matt, Marrs, Mehl, Mortersteel, Mowrer (G. maur a wall), Napp, Neeper (Niesbuhr?), Nohaker, Nophsker, Ochs, Over, Oxworth, Peelman, Penas (in Ohio), Pfund, Popp, Poutch, Quirk, Rathvon (Rodfong, Rautfaung), Road, Rottenstein (in Texas), Rutt, Sangmeister, Scheuerbrand, Schlegelmilch, Schlong (snake), Schöttel, Segar, Seldomridge, Senn, Service (in Indiana), Shaver, Shilling, Shinover, Shock, Shot, Showers, Skats (in Connecticut), Smout, Spoon, Springer, Steer (in Texas), Stern, Stetler, Stormfeltz, Strayer, Stretch, Stridle, Sumption, Surgeon, Swoop (a Suab-ian), Test, Tise, Tice (Theiss?), Tittles, Towstenberier, Tyzat (at St. Louis), Umble, Venus, Venerich, -rik, Vestal (in Texas), Vinegar('s Ferry, on the Susquehanna), Vogelsang, Wallower, Waltz, Wolfspanier, Wonder, Woolrick (for Wulfrich?), Work, Worst, Yaffe, Yecker, Yeisley, Yordes, Zeh, Zugschwerdt.

<sup>1</sup> In the following inscription on a building, 'bei' instead of 'von' shows an English influence. The author knew English well: was a member of the state legislature, had a good collection of English—but not of German books—and yet preferred a German inscription—

ERBAUET BEI JOHN & MARIA HALDEMAN 1790.

Inscriptions are commonly in the roman character, from the difficulty of cutting the others.

<sup>2</sup> As in 'Chladoni' for *Chladni*, in the American edition of the Westminster Review for July, 1865. The name Slyvons stands on the title-page as the author of a book on Chess (Bruxelles, 1856), which M. Cretaine in a similar work (Paris, 1865) gives as Solvyna. Upon calling Mr. C.'s attention to this point, he produced a letter from the former, signed *Soleyns*.

<sup>3</sup> The forms of this name are Ferree, Ferrie, Fuehre, Ferie, Verre, Fiere, Firre, Ferry, Feire, Fire; and as 'Ferree' is now pronounced *Free*, this may be a form also. In the year 1861, when in Nassau, I observed that the English visitors pronounced the name of a building in four modes, one German and three not German—Bādhaus, Bath-house, Bad-house, and Bawd-house.

Among the following curious, incompatible, or hibrid<sup>1</sup> names, titles (except that of 'General') have been mistaken for proper names—Horatio Himmereich, Owen Reich, Caspar Reed, Dennis Loucks, Baltzer Stone, Addisen Shelp, Paris Rudisill, Adam Schuh, Erasmus Buckenmeyer, Peter Pence, General Wellington H. Ent, General Don Carlos Buel, Don Alonzo Cushman, Sir Frank Howard, Always Wise (probably for Aloïs Weiss). In November, 1867, Gilbert Monsieur Marquis de Lafayette Sproul, asked the legislature of Tennessee to cut off all his names but the last two.

<sup>1</sup> Latin **HIBRIDA**. I have marked the first English syllable short to dissociate it from the *high-breed* of gardeners and florists, which 'hÿbrid' suggests.

## CHAPTER X.

## IMPERFECT ENGLISH.

§ 1. *Broken English.*

Specimens of English as badly spoken by Germans who have an imperfect knowledge of it, are common enough, but they seldom give a proper idea of its nature. The uncertainty between sonant and surd is well known, but like the Cockney with *h*, it is a common mistake to suppose that the misapplication is universal,<sup>1</sup> for were this the case, the simple rule of reversal would set the speakers right in each case.

It is true that the German confounds English *t* and *d*, but he puts *t* for *d* more frequently than *d* for *t*. In an advertisement cut from a newspaper at Schwalbach, Nassau, in 1862—

Ordres for complet Diners or simples portions is punctually attented to and send in town—

there seems to be a spoken reversal of *t* and *d*, but I take ‘send’ to be an error of grammar, the pronunciation of the speaker being probably *attentet*, and *sent*. “Excuse my bad riding” (writing) is a perversion in speech. A German writes ‘dacke’ *take*, ‘de’ *the*, ‘be’ *be*, ‘deere’ *deer*, ‘contra’ *country*, and says :—

I am cebple [able] to accommodeted with any quantity of dis kinds of Ruts [kinds of roots]. Plies tirectad to . . . Sout Frond Stread . . . nort america.

Here there is an attempt at the German flat *p* (p. 11) in the *bp* of ‘able’; the surd *th* of ‘north’ and ‘south’ becomes *t*, and the sonant *th* of ‘this’ becomes *d*—‘with’ remaining under the old spelling. The *p* of ‘please’ remains, but *d* of ‘direct’ becomes *t*; and while final *t* of ‘front’ and ‘street’ becomes

<sup>1</sup> A boy in the street in Liverpool (1866) said to a companion—“’e told me to ‘old up my ‘ands an’ I ‘eld em up.” He did not say *hup*, *han’ hI*, *hem*.

*d*, the first *t* in ‘street,’ and that in ‘directed,’ are kept pure by surd *s* and *cay*. The rule of surd to surd and sonant to sonant is neglected in most of the factitious specimens of broken English.

The next is an instructive and a genuine example, being the record of a Justice of the Peace in Dauphin County (that of Harrisburg, the State Capital). It will be observed that the complainant bought a house, and being refused possession, makes a forcible entry and is resisted. The spelling is irregular, as in ‘come’ and ‘com,’ ‘the’ and ‘de,’ ‘did’ and ‘dit,’ ‘then’ and ‘den,’ ‘nothin’ and ‘nosing,’ ‘house’ and ‘hause,’ ‘put’ and ‘but,’ ‘open’ and ‘upen.’

The said . . . sait I dit By de hause and I went in de hause at de back winder and den I dit upen de house and Dit take out his forniture and nobotty Dit disstorbe me till I hat his forniture out; I did but it out in de streat Before the house; and then he dit Com Wis a barl and dit nock at the dore that the Dore dit fly open and the molding dit Brack louse<sup>1</sup> and then I dit Wornt him not to come in the hause and not to put anneyasing in the hause and he dit put in a barl Into the hause and I did put it out and he dit put it in again and then he did put In two Sisses<sup>2</sup> and srount the barl against Me; and then I dit nothin out annezmore and further nosing more; Sworn & Subscript the Dey and yeare above ritten before me . . . J.P.—Newspaper.

The beginning and close follow a legal formula. The PG. idiom which drops the imperfect tense runs through this, in expressions such as ‘I did open,’ ‘I did put,’ ‘I did warned,’ etc.; but as might be expected, the English idiom is also present, in ‘I went’ and ‘he throwed.’ Making allowance for reminiscences of English spelling, and the accidents of type, this is an excellent specimen of the phases of English from German organs. It shows that sonants and surds do not always change place, as in *did*, *nobody*, *disturb*, *out*, *that*, *not*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare with a word in the following note sent to a druggist in Harrisburg, Pa. “Plhs leht meh haf Sohm koh kohs Peryhs ohr Sähmting darhts guht vohr Ah lihttel Dahg Gaht lausse vor meh.” [Louse for *loose* is common in the north of England. Thus in Peacock’s Lonsdale Glossary (published for the Philological Society, 1869) we find: “Louse, *adj.* (1) loose. O.N. *laus*, solutus. (2) Impure, disorderly.—*v.t.* to loose. “To *louss* ‘em out on t’ common” = To let cattle go upon the common.—To be at a *louse-end*. To be in an unsettled, dissipated state.—Lous-ith'-heft, *n.* a disorderly person, a spendthrift.”—A. J. Ellis.]

<sup>2</sup> The *two* shows that this is a plural. When recognised, it will be observed that the law of its formation is legitimate.

*come*, which are not necessarily turned into *tit*, *nopotty*, *tisdurp*, *oud*, *dad*, *nod*, *gum*.<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing example, the final *t* of *went* (where some might have expected ‘wend’), *dit* for ‘did,’ *hat* for ‘had,’ *streat*, *wornt* for ‘warned,’ *put*, *srout* for ‘threwed,’ and *subscript*,—is for Latin -AT-US, English -ed, and as this is *t* in German, it is retained by the language instinct, even when represented by ‘d,’ as in *gol-d*. Were there not something different from mere accident here, Grimm’s Law would be a delusion. The *t* of *out*, *disturb*, and the first one in *street*, is due to the surd *s* beside it, or in the German *aus* and *strasse*.

In *the*, *de*; *then*, *den*; *wis*; *anneysing*, *nosing*; *srout*, the sonant *th* becomes *d* by glottosis,<sup>2</sup> and the surd one *s* by otōsis, or *t* by glottosis also, and ‘nothing’ is more likely to become *nossing* or *notting*, than *nodding*—and English *z* is not known to many German dialects. On the other hand, *z* as the representative of sonant *th*, is legitimate in the broken English of a Frenchman.

The *p* of ‘open’ and the *g* of ‘against’ are influenced by the German forms *öffnen* and *gegen*.

In “I dit nothin out annezmore”—*any* is made plural, and ‘did out’ (for the previous ‘put out’) seems to be a reminiscence of the German *austhun*.

## § 2. *The Breitmann Ballads.*

In these ballads Mr. Leland has opened a new and an interesting field in literature which he has worked with great success, for previous writers wanted the definite, accurate knowledge which appears in every page of Hans Breitmann, and which distinguishes a fiction like the Lady of the Lake from a

<sup>1</sup> For the word ‘twenty-five,’ the speaking and singing machine of the German Faber said *twenty-fife*, in imitation of its fabricator, using *t* and *f* because they occur in the German word. Similarly, *feif* for *five* appears in the following joke from an American German newspaper:—

“Ein Pennfylvanisch-Deutſcher hatte zwei Pferde verloren und schickte folgende Annonce: Ei loſt mein tu Horſes! Der wonne iſt a Sarrelhors, langen Schwanzthal, ſchort abgekuhtet, aber weederum ausgrown; der annerwonn iſt bläcker, aber mit four weiht Fieht un en weißen Strich in his Fähs. Hu will bring mein tu Horſes bæk to mi, will rezieſ feif Thalers reward.”

<sup>2</sup> *Hald.* Analytic Orthography, § 294.

figment like Hiawatha. Here we have an attempt to represent the speech of a large class of European<sup>1</sup> Germans who have acquired English imperfectly, and who must not be confounded with the Pennsylvania German, altho the language of the two may have many points in common.

Apart from their proper function, and under their present spelling, the Breitmann ballads have but little philologic value. Instead of being the representative of an average speech, they contain forms which can hardly occur, even when influenced by the perversity of intentional exaggeration, such as shbeed, shdare, shdory, ghosdt, exisdt, lefdt, quesdions, excepdion, and where the sonant *d* occurs beside the surd *sh*, *f*, and *t*, in the lines :—

' De dimes he cot oopsettet <sup>1</sup>	<sup>1</sup> oopsettet.
In shdeerin lefdt und righdt. <sup>2</sup>	<sup>2</sup> G. recht.
Vas ofdener <sup>3</sup> as de cleamin shdars <sup>4</sup>	<sup>3</sup> G. öfter. <sup>4</sup> shtarrss.
Dat shtud de shky <sup>5</sup> py <sup>6</sup> nighdt. <sup>7</sup>	<sup>5</sup> sky. <sup>6</sup> G. bei.

In these pages an *average* speech is assumed as the basis of comparison, and also the average German who does one thing or avoids another in language. In such examples of bad English, surd and sonant (*p,b*; *t,d*; *k,gay*) must be confused, and German words like ‘mit’ for *with*, and ‘ding’ (rather than ‘ting’ or ‘sing’) for *thing*, may be introduced at discretion, as in Mr. Leland’s use of *ding*, *mit*, *blitzen*, *erstaunished* (for *-isht*), *Himmel*, *shlog*, and others.

When German and English have the same phase, it should be preserved, *book* (G. *buch*) has a sonant initial and a surd final in both languages; a German therefore, who brings his habits of speech into English, will not be likely to call a book a *boog*, *poog*, or *pook*; and Mr. Leland’s habits as a German

<sup>1</sup> This accent is not wanted for Englishmen of the present day. Noah Webster (*Dissertations on the English Language*, Boston U.S. 1789, p. 118) says: “Our modern fashionable speakers accent *European* on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. . . . . Analogy requires *Euro'pean* and this is supported by as good authorities as the other.” He adds in a footnote. “*Hymenean* and *hymeneal* are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one; but erroneously. Other authorities preserve the analogy.” Milton has *hymenean*, P. L. 4, 711. Milton’s line “Epicurean, and the Stoic severe,” P. Reg. 4 280, is strange, however the word may be accented; Shakspere’s “keep his brain fuming; Epicurean cooks,” A. and C., act 2, sc. 1, sp. 9, v. 24, is distinct enough. If the long diphthong or vowel in Latin were a proper guide, we should have to say *inimical*, *doctrinal*, *ami'cable*. These words are accented on the same plan as those taken from the French. And this would give the common *Euro'pean*, which is now strictly tabooed.—A. J. Ellis.

scholar have led him to write *book, beer* (and *bier*) *fear, free, drink, denn, trink, stately, plow, born, dokter, togeder, hart* (hard), *heart, tead* (dead), *fought, frolic, goot, four, hat* (had, hat)—but in the latter sense it should have been *het*), *toes, dough* (though), *tousand, pills*, etc. Under this rule, his ‘*ploot*’ and ‘*blood*’ (G. *blut*) should have been *blut* :—

benny	penny	dwice	twice	pefore	before	prown	brown
blace	place	fifdy	fifty	pegin	begin	py	by
blaster	plaster	giss	kiss	behind	behint	prow	brow
breest	priest	led	let	plue	blue	sed	to set
creen	green	mighdy	mighty	pone	bone	streed	shreet
deers	tears	pack n.	back	prave	brase	veet	feet
dell	tell	pall	bäll	pranty	brandy	vifdeen	fifteen
den	ten	peard	beart	preak	break	vine	fine
dwelve	twelf	pecause	because	prings	bringes	wide	vite

In cases where the two languages do not agree in phase, either phase may be taken, as in ‘troo’ or ‘droo’ for English *through* with a surd initial, beside German *durch* with a sonant; but as German cognate finals are more likely to be surd than sonant (as in *lockwouth* for *logwood* at the end of Ch. I. p. 6), *goot, hart* and *holt*, as breitmannish forms, are better than *good, hard*, and *hold*. Mr. Leland practically admits this, as in ‘*barrick*’ (G. *berg*, a hill), which, however, many will take for a *barrack*.<sup>1</sup> The following have a different phase in German and English—

day tay	door toor	-hood -hoot	red ret
ding ting	dream tream	hund- huntert	said set
dirsty tirsty	drop trop	middle mittle	saddle sattle
done tone	fader fater	pad path	drink trink

but *k*, and the pure final German *s* would turn *d* to *t* in ‘bridges,’ ‘brackdise,’ ‘outsides,’ ‘holds,’ ‘shpirids;’ it would turn *g* to *k* in ‘rags,’ and it makes ‘craps’ (crabs) correct. The power of English *z* can scarcely be said to belong to average German, or to the breitmannish dialect; it should therefore be *ss* in ‘doozen,’ ‘preeze’ (breeze), and ‘phaze.’ When it is present it occurs initial, and we have ‘too zee’ once, against numerous *s* initials like *see, sea, say, so, soul, six*.

The ballads have many irregularities in spelling like—as, *ash*; *is, ish*; *one, von*; *two, dwo*; *dwelf, dwelve, twelve, zwölf* (for *twelf*); *chor, gorus*; *distants, tisaster*; *dretful, tredful*; *eck* (the correct form), *egg*; *het, head, headt*;

<sup>1</sup> The probable breitmannish form of *scythes* is given in these pages. Compare “Pargerswill, Box [Parkersville, Bucks] Kaundie Pensilfäni.”

groundt, cround, croundt ; land, lantlord, Marylandt ; shpirid, shpirit, shbirit ; drumpet ; trumpet ; foorst, foost, first, virst ; fein, vine ; went, vent ; old, olt, oldt ; teufel, tyfel, tuyfel.

English *J* is placed in soobjectixe, objectified, jail, jammed, juice, jump (shoomp, choomp) ; it is represented by *sh* in shoost, shiant, shinglin ; by *ch* (correctly) in choin, choy, choke, enchine ; by *g*, *dg* in change, hedge ; and by *y* in Yane and soobjectify—which is not objectionable. English *Ch* remains in catch, child, chaps (and shaps), fetch, sooch, mooch ; and it becomes *sh* in soosh (such), shase, sheek.

English *Sh* is proper in shmoke, shmile, shplit, shpill, shpoons, shtart, shtick, shtrike, shtop, shvear ; it is omitted in smack, stamp, slept ; and it is of doubtful propriety in ash (as), ashk, vash (was), elshe, shkorn, shkare, shky.

English *D* final is often written *dt* that the word may be recognised and the sound of *t* secured, as in laidt, roadt, shouldt, vouldt, findt, foundt, roundt (and round), vordt (and vord), obercoadt. English *ed* and its equivalents should be *et* or *t* in broken English, as in loadet, reconet, pe-markt, riset, signet, rollet, seemet, slightet, declarret, paddlet, mate (made), kilt ; *-ed* being wrong, as in said, coomed, bassed, scared, trinked, smashed, rooshed, bleased.

English *F*, *V*, *W*, receive the worst treatment, and are judged by the eye rather than by speech. German *folgen* and English *follow* are turned into ‘vollow’ ; German *weil* is ‘vhile’ and ‘while.’ Other examples are wind and window ; vhen, vhenefer (turning not only German *v*, but English *v* into *f*), fery for *very*,—but svitch, ve (we), veight, vink, are proper. The following example is from ‘Schuitzerl’s Philosopede’—

‘Oh vot ish all <sup>1</sup> dis earthy pliss ?	<sup>1</sup> <i>ol</i> in <i>folly</i> .
Oh, vot ish <sup>2</sup> man’s soocksess ? <sup>3</sup>	<sup>2</sup> sooccess.
Oh, vot is various kinds <sup>4</sup> of dings ?	<sup>3</sup> <i>s</i> turns <i>d</i> into <i>t</i> .
Und vot is <sup>4</sup> hoppiness ?	<sup>4</sup> <i>iss</i> or <i>ish</i> , not both.
Ve find a pank node in de shtreedt, <sup>5</sup>	<sup>5</sup> shtreet.
Next[-sht] <sup>6</sup> dings <sup>6</sup> der pank ish <sup>7</sup> break !	<sup>6</sup> dinges. <sup>7</sup> <i>d</i> requires <i>b</i> .
Ve folls <sup>1</sup> und knobs our outsides <sup>8</sup> in,	<sup>8</sup> G. seit, and final <i>s</i> ,
Ven ve a ten-shtrike make.’	require <i>t</i> .

CHICKIS, near COLUMBIA, PENNSYLVANIA,  
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